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A Journal of Opinion

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Back to the Philippines

General MacArthur has returned to the Philippines. The mind may accept the rational truth that Germany is a much more formidable foe than Japan, but to the average American there will be more heartfelt emotion over the landings on Leyte and progress toward Luzon than over comparable stages on the road to Berlin. This is only natural. In Europe, the democratic institutions to which America is devoted were attacked, but there was no direct assault upon American citizens or upon American physical property. In the Pacific it was different: the most treacherous assault fell upon America's battle fleet, followed by the attack on the Philippines, the commonwealth which has progressed from a backward Spanish colony to an incipient free democracy. These factors occasioned the deep emotion in this country over each stage of the Japanese war.

With that emotion there can be no quarrel. But unfortunately those same factors provided the basis for some of the worst demagogy and the worst miscegenation of war and politics which this country has seen since the days of McClellan. Since MacArthur's withdrawal from Corregidor in obedience to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief whom he privately criticized, he has fought two campaigns: one against the Japanese, the other against his superiors in Washington. For the former, there can be nothing but admiration; for the latter, no reproof is too strong.

MacArthur Wanted More

It was true, as MacArthur complained, that in the early days of his Southwest Pacific Command, when his headquarters was in Melbourne, he was at the end of the line of supply. But not even a Republican campaigner can blame the administration for the geography of the Pacific. It was true that he received only a fraction of the forces he needed; so did Admiral Halsey, in the adjacent South Pacific area; Admiral Nimitz, farther north; General Stilwell (and later Admiral Mountbatten) in Southeast Asia. But during this period MacArthur was the only theatre commander who quarreled in public with the decisions of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which was made up of Americans no whit less patriotic than MacArthur (Generals Marshall and Arnold, Admirals King and Leahy). MacArthur was the only theatre commander who permitted his military desires, which were not necessarily the same thing as his military needs or the country's best interests, to be made into political capital by the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson axis.

MacArthur sneered at "island-hopping" when it was registering more noteworthy gains than his own New Guinea coastal campaign, and even when it represented operations under his strategic direction, as in the later phases of Halsey's drive through the Solomons. MacArthur pouted in public when Mountbatten's command was set up, and invariably he belittled or slighted the achievements of any forces other than his own. It was not until the eleventh hour that he removed his name from the list of those regarded as "available" for the Republican presidential nomination.

Honor for All

All these factors must be weighed in striking a balance on his latest achievements. So must the great aid he has received from quarters to which he has been hostile. When American factories began to produce

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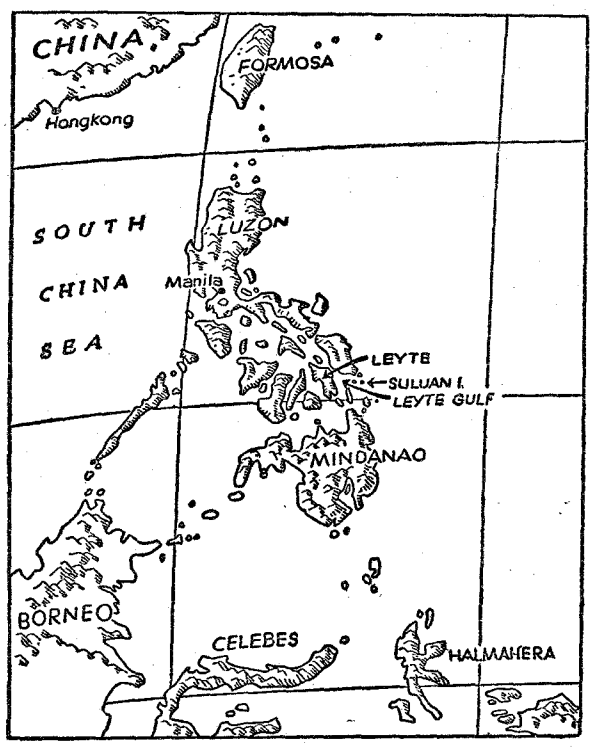
aircraft and other war equipment in volume sufficient to permit increasing the flow to the Pacific, the Joint Chiefs of Staff lost no time in increasing it. Actually, the tide turned in August, 1943, although that fact was long obscured by desirable military-security requirements and by despicable politicking in this country. And when MacArthur needed the direct support of the Pacific Fleet, he received it. It should never be forgotten that the Caroline Island stronghold of Truk, which loomed as an impassable barrier to advances in the Pacific, was first struck down by carrier-borne aircraft. MacArthur's landing at Hollandia was covered by a great fleet assigned to that task by Nimitz. Both Halsey and Nimitz have shown infinite patience and forbearance in their dealings with the temperamental General.

It might have been hoped that when his forces had finally been built up to the point where he could satisfy his greatest and most laudable ambition, to return to the Philippines, MacArthur would begin to give credit where it was due. So far, he has failed to do so. He seems incapable of the obvious, magnanimous gesture, of recognizing publicly that his return would have been impossible without the carrier strikes by Admiral Mitscher against the Ryukyus, Formosa and Luzon.

The return to the Philippines, only two and a half years after the islands were lost, is a magnificent achievement when the urgency of the war in Europe and the forbidding distances of the Pacific are borne in mind. It reflects the greatest credit upon all the responsible military and naval leaders, from the civilian Commander-in-Chief, through the Joint Chiefs of Staff to General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz and their subordinates. There is honor for all.



The Road Back

General MacArthur's landings on Leyte foreshadow a drive to capture all the central Philippines, after which his return to Manila can begin. Japan's southern conquests will be cut off, and the China coast made more accessible.

What Comes Next?

Inevitably, the question arises as to what the next steps will be. It can be taken for granted that the amphibious descent upon Leyte will be successful—so great is the power employed, so great the skill achieved by American commanders in this, traditionally the most difficult of military operations. It is to be assumed that the plan of operations calls for a continuance of the drive, through the smaller Philippine islands, cutting the great chain in half. General MacArthur has said as much. Then, with Luzon neutralized by American air power based across the narrow straits of the Visayan group, not only can the direct march upon Manila begin, but also moves toward the China coast can be considered. It is unlikely that they can be made from any Philippine island except Luzon, and the reduction of Luzon will be a long and difficult task.

But with the potentialities of carrier-borne air power still incompletely realized, it is permissible to look beyond the Philippines themselves, to the Ryukyus and Formosa. Several approaches are possible, all of them difficult having regard to the situation in China, but none so difficult that it cannot be used by the huge forces which are now available and still increasing. The area of Japanese domination will soon be cut in half. It is too early to say, as did General MacArthur in one of his more florid and less responsible communiqués, that "either flank can be rolled up at will." But it is safe to say that both flanks can be attacked—and will be.

Keeping Fritz Busy

Now that the long stalemate on the East Prussian border has been broken, the German High Command is faced not only with war on two fronts, but with war on German soil on two fronts. The political preparations to meet this development, which earlier propaganda said was impossible, have included yet another *levée en masse*. And now every man, woman and child is to be armed—assuming, of course, that there are arms to go around. In the present plight of German war industry, that seems unlikely. It is far more likely that Heinrich Himmler, although commander of the home armies, had a political motive in ordering this, "positively the last," mobilization. If a German factory worker, after arising early, walking or straphanging to work, putting in ten hours at his lathe, dragging himself home, and then being drilled for hours in home-guard tactics, has any energy left for organizing an anti-Nazi uprising, he will indeed be a superman.

Fortunately, the mileage gained in the east, and the evident grouping in preparation for a new offensive

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in the west, leave room for hope that Himmler will not have much time to put his theories to the test.

A Bad Campaign

There is cause for the deepest alarm over the character of the election campaign that is now coming to its close. American politics is always full of accusations and counter-accusations, and as a rule, these need not be taken too seriously. But this time it is different. The character of the falsehoods brought forward by the Republicans, their persistence in repeating them even after they have been exposed, go far beyond the license of an ordinary political campaign. The GOP is trying to lie its way into office; if it succeeds, the country will find itself in an extremely ugly situation.

Chief among these falsehoods are the charge that the Democratic Party is now under the control of the Communists, that Mr. Roosevelt intends to keep the soldiers in the army indefinitely, that the war factories built with federal money are an example of state socialism, that Mr. Roosevelt started the depression. Last week Mr. Dewey added a couple of new ones. He pretended that Mr. Roosevelt had put out more than 9,000 executive orders, by failing to mention that executive orders are numbered consecutively and that 9,000-odd is the total number put out by all the Presidents. He charged that we had let Russia write the treaty with Rumania and did not even know its contents. But in fact, the Russian general (whose name Mr. Dewey got wrong) signed a military armistice only, which was perfectly proper, since Russian troops defeated Rumania; and even so, the United States Government was thoroughly aware, in advance, of its contents.

To some extent, Mr. Dewey's famous efficiency turns out to be a myth. His research staff is guilty of extremely sloppy, incompetent work. But beyond this, his campaign goes in for falsehood on such a heroic scale as must severely trouble the heart of every decent Republican.

Mr. Roosevelt's Foreign Policy

Though President Roosevelt's speech before the Foreign Policy Association was in the main an able review of well known facts which should lead anyone interested in world peace to vote against Republicans, he made two new statements of utmost importance. One was his expression of faith in the German people, accompanied by his promise that while they would be disarmed, they would not be enslaved. This should not only help to weaken their resistance but is sound policy for the long term. The other was his specific endorsement of the proposal that the American delegate to the Council of the security organization planned at Dumbarton Oaks should be empowered, through Act of Congress taken in accordance with constitutional procedure, to commit this nation to enforcement of peace without specific authorization when the emergency arises.

The fact that Mr. Dewey has refused, at this writing, to express his views on this proposal, plus the fact that Republican isolationist Senators will certainly oppose it, should be enough not only to win to the Democratic candidate not only Senator Ball, but any Republican who sincerely favors a world-security organization. We cannot stop to debate if we are to put out the fires of aggression before they start a world conflagration.

Dewey as Internationalist

Both President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey have now endorsed the broad principles of Dumbarton Oaks. Mr. Dewey deserves credit, as our Washington correspondent points out, for taking the issue out of the campaign. The trouble is that many of us find it difficult to believe that Mr. Dewey is sincere in his sudden and belated enthusiasm for internationalism. As Mr. Roosevelt remarked in his speech, we remember that Harding expressed enthusiasm for the League in 1920—until he got elected. The rabid isolationists of The Chicago Tribune school are still supporting Dewey.

In attacking the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration, Mr. Dewey had his best target of the whole campaign. There are many weaknesses in the administration's foreign policy, which have often been pointed out in The New Republic and elsewhere. It is unfortunate that Mr. Dewey largely threw the opportunity away. His support of the Polish Government-in-Exile was a really shocking performance. It made more difficult the negotiations then in progress in Moscow. It was a flagrant bid for the votes of the American Polish community. If the Moscow negotiations should break down, Mr. Dewey must bear much of the responsibility.

Wagner and Thomas

For reasons that have nothing to do with their abilities, two of the best men in the United States Senate face difficulties in their campaign for reëlection this year—Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York and Elbert D. Thomas of Utah. Both these men are stalwart New Dealers who have fought for much of the best legislation now on the books. The loss of either of them from the Senate would be a national calamity. We hope that liberals in New York and Utah will not fail to exercise their franchise to send these two good men back for another six years of service.

Imperialism in the Balkans

No details have been published regarding the results achieved by Stalin and Churchill in their talks, except that they made satisfactory progress. Unofficially, it was said that Russia renounced any ambitions in the

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Mediterranean and recognized British political interests in Greece. In turn, it was acknowledged that she has special interests in the rest of the Balkans, and particularly in Bulgaria. As for the Polish dispute, we know only that as time passed, the atmosphere in Moscow seemed a good deal more cheerful.

Assuming that the reports are true, the division of the Balkans into rival spheres of influence sounds like old-fashioned imperialist diplomacy; and that, on the whole, is what it is. Should this cause Americans to throw up their hands in despair and retire again into isolation? In our opinion, it should not. The plans whose foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks, if they succeed, will eventually do away with spheres of influence of this type. In the meantime it is obvious that all the great powers will continue to hedge their bets: they will continue to assume that there won't be any collective security until the contrary is proved. This makes collective security a little harder to bring about, but only a little. After all, the world has never yet had anything else but cynical imperialism from the great powers, including the whole lifetime of the late League of Nations.

Note for the Social Historian

Mr. W. R. Hearst's New York Mirror has assigned eight men full time to the job of trying to dig up some dirt about the CIO-PAC to use in the campaign. Results up to now: 0.

An Anti-Labor Scheme in Florida

The people of Florida will vote November 7 on an important issue. On the ballot is a proposed amendment saying that "the right to work shall not be abridged or denied on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union. . . ." This sounds innocent and fair, but it would in fact give Florida's employers, most of whom are out and out reactionaries, the chance to destroy Florida unionism root and branch, by gradually packing their working forces with stooges hired to oppose union activities. Southern states are waiting with interest for the result in Florida. If the amendment passes there, it will certainly be submitted in other places as well. Organized labor in Florida is of course opposing the amendment, but its ranks are not strong enough to do the job alone. Most of the daily papers are in favor of the plan, an honorable exception being The St. Petersburg Times, owned by Nelson Poynter, an outstanding Southern liberal. Florida progressives will have to bestir themselves if this dangerous measure is to be defeated.

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Pass the Mud and Curse the Administration

California, Too

California, like Florida, will vote this year on a proposal which would virtually destroy trade-unionism in that state. Called "Proposition 12," it says that nobody's right to work shall be "impaired or abridged" because he is or is not a union member, and that anything "done or threatened" to "interfere with, impair or abridge that right," is unlawful. Here again, something that sounds innocent and fair would in fact be used to destroy unionism in toto. The plan would not only prevent the closed shop but the preferential shop and even "maintenance of membership," the official policy of the War Labor Board in the war emergency. Every existing labor-union contract would be voided at once. A newspaper or individual who criticized this law, or defended unionism, or even compared the efficiency of union and non-union workers might be made the subject of legal process. This proposal is so extreme that it is opposed by Governor Earl Warren, Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and state and local Chambers of Commerce in California. It should certainly be defeated.

Victory in Pasadena

Speaking of California reminds us that liberalism recently won a victory there. The persons of Japanese race, whether citizens or not, who were evacuated from California after Pearl Harbor are still in other states, and strenuous efforts are being made to keep them there. A California group called the Japanese Exclusion Association tried to get a proposal put on the ballot to ban the Japanese permanently, but we are glad to say that they failed. One young girl, Esther Takei, born in this country of Japanese ancestry, obtained permission from the commanding general of the Western Defense Command to come back to California and go on with her work at Pasadena Junior College. At once, the racists who copy Hitler's views about Aryanism sprang into action. They demanded that Miss Takei be deported again from California. Then the decent Americans, of whom there are plenty in California although one does not hear much about them, came to the rescue. The Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, whose honorary chairman is Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, held a public meeting in Pasadena. In the chair was Dr. Robert A. Millikan, famous scientist

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of the California Institute of Technology, and the chief speaker was Dillon S. Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority. Decency won out, and the disgraceful attempt to persecute Miss Takei was dropped.

It Didn't Happen

A few weeks ago, Washington was buzzing with "authoritative reports" about when the war would end. It seems, according to these reports, that there is a man in the War Department whose sole job it is to predict the ends of wars. Like the cymbal player in an orchestra, his tasks are infrequent, but important when they come. By figuring out the number of German reserves, and how rapidly they were being used up, he predicted the end of the last war to take place between November 10 and 15, 1918. Applying the same method to the war this time, he got a date between October 10 and 15, 1944.

Germany in the Peace

MAX LERNER, in his article "Germany without Illusions," in this issue of The New Republic, is right when he says that the German problem "is the deepest and most labyrinthine issue of our time." Most of those who have discussed it have greatly oversimplified the issues. In part this is due to inadequate knowledge of the facts necessary for a wise decision, in part to a failure of the intelligence in dealing with the facts, and in part to emotional self-deception arising from hatred or wishful thinking.

It may assist in advancing discussion of this vexed question if we begin by defining certain general premises which would seem basic to any solution. First of all, the aim is neither revenge nor forgiveness, neither a hard peace nor a soft peace for its own sake. It is to prevent the Germans from precipitating another World War at some future time, by whatever means may be appropriate. Second, when this war is won, the danger against which we wish to guard will not quickly emerge. Germany will not be capable of renewed aggression for perhaps another twenty years. The solution must therefore be one which will operate long after the present sense of urgency and the vivid emotions of war have retreated far into the background. Third, it is a dangerous delusion to suppose that anything which may be done immediately after the war can of itself prevent another war by the time a new generation has come of age. Peace is not a condition which can be guaranteed once and for all by a single inoculation. It is a process which must be continually nourished and safeguarded.

Certain important conclusions flow from these premises. In so far as the German settlement may be one which requires the force of Germany's enemies to maintain, it must, as The London Economist has pointed out, be of a sort which they are not only willing and able to impose now, but which they will unhesitatingly support after the passions of war have disappeared. The lessons of history often have to be learned all over again when the experiences which gave rise to them have receded into the shadow. This is particularly true when acceptance of these lessons involves pain and sacrifice. It therefore follows that the peace will have a better chance of being maintained the more nearly it can approach a situation against which Germans in the long future will have as little impulse as possible to revolt and which imposes as light a burden as possible on those who will be obliged to preserve it against any German opposition.

These observations outline sharply the apparent dilemma with which we are faced. Many of the proposed solutions, such as the partition of Germany, the destruction of German industry or the imposition of rule by the victors for a long period, are intended to destroy Germany's power to make war. But in the modern world, the power to make war is almost inseparable from the power to produce abundance and live happily at peace. The more thoroughly we destroy the basic conditions of war potential, the more likely the Germans are to wish to revolt against the terms imposed. This observation does not apply to disarmament in the limited sense or to the destruction of an aggressive ruling class. It does apply, however, to measures which would impoverish, punish or degrade Germans as a whole for years to come.

Such measures would, moreover, impose sacrifices on Germany's present enemies which they are not likely to relish for very long. Even the responsibility of governing a large and perhaps unruly people would be a heavy burden. In so far as armies of occupation are necessary, the danger is that political pressure in the democratic nations will force their removal too soon. The destruction of German heavy industry, which is inseparable from the German economy as a whole, would not only lower the standard of living of the Germans. It would also deprive a large part of the world of the products of German industry and of a market consisting of some 70 or 80 million people in the center of Europe. Indeed, a flourishing and expanding economy for that continent is almost inconceivable if its heart is made an economic void. We can think of no measure more likely to create future resistance on the part of Germans and more likely to weaken the will to quell that resistance.

Mr. Lerner is also right when he states that the way in which we deal with German industry is a touchstone of the peace. Destruction of its plant would be physically possible, but solutions of the problem which would follow would be socially and psychologically impossible. For one thing, the Germans would rebuild it the moment the prohibition ceased to be enforced. Therefore, the real question is how the control of

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German industry is to be organized. In the hands of the Nazis it has been a deadly weapon. In the hands of cartel magnates it would be capable of becoming dangerous even if the Nazis are destroyed. Certain controls and safeguards may be imposed from outside which will not rob it of its life-sustaining power, as the Brookings Institution and others have demonstrated. These, however, must be at best a second line of defense. The only really adequate solution would be for German industry to be operated and directed by Germans who will wish to use it for the enhancement of the values of peace rather than for war. We come, then, to the major conclusion that at the heart of our problem we are concerned not with military measures and not with purely material ones, but with politics and psychology.

It is in this area of discussion that Mr. Lerner's article seems to us to be weakest. Like many a liberal who decides to be hard-headed and realistic, he gives insufficient credit to the truth in his own tradition, and fails to grapple with the most essential question of all.

What can we do to lead Germans to desire peace and organize for it, instead of falling prey to destructive leaders? If Germany is to be controlled neither by Nazis nor by predatory big business, what political institutions with any validity and endurance can be substituted? These questions are not easy to answer, but their difficulty does not make the discovery of an answer less essential. They are the crux of the whole matter, and no plan or device capable of present adoption by the United Nations can be a satisfactory substitute for the solution of this puzzle. Mr. Lerner refers to the obsessions of liberals. While it is true, as their enemies frequently point out, that some liberals are misled by a combination of wishy-washy humanitarianism and incapacity in dealing with practical affairs, this does not seem to us their most serious defect. The besetting sin of liberals is the attempt to escape personal and continuous responsibility for achieving their ends, by the invention of some formula or mechanistic device which will remove this burden from their shoulders. Schemes like the Morgenthau plan seem to us to exhibit this fault. The virtues of liberalism are, however, that it has ultimate faith in mankind, and that it sees the practical values in liberty and a truly scientific approach to problems, no matter how difficult they may be. Liberalism in its best strain does not attempt for long to substitute authoritarian rule, even by those who avow good principles, for the slower processes of discovery and education.

We do not know how anyone can be so sure as Mr. Lerner seems to be that "the democratic revolutionary potential in Germany is negligible." A more scientific attitude would be to wait and see what happens when the SS and the Gestapo are liquidated. Even if it is then proved that he is right, there is no ground for believing that Germans, given the right conditioning, will ultimately be any more incapable of self-government than other Europeans.

The opinions of people like H. N. Brailsford and Dorothy Thompson, in spite of Mr. Lerner's derisive summary, seem to us to embody excellent psychological insight. A psychiatrist asked to diagnose the most dangerous criminal in the world might offer much the same explanation of how he got that way. That does not mean that we do not need to protect ourselves against criminals, but it gives us a hint as to how to prevent the emergence of others of the same kind.

Decisive defeat in the war will be in itself educational to Germany. As an immediate program we would favor the hardest possible peace toward the Nazis and their collaborators, not for the purpose of revenge, but because it is too late to reclaim them. We believe it will be impossible to achieve this end solely by military measures or by intervention from outside. It can be effectuated thoroughly only by release of the energies and freedom of those Germans whom the Nazis have persecuted—in other words, whatever German democratic forces there may be. We also favor opening every possible avenue for these forces to take command of German industry. This would involve, of course, removing the industrialists who have abetted Nazism. If this object can be achieved, we should then do everything possible to permit democratic leaders to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the German people for a good life. The main trouble with the last peace was that it was hard toward German democracy and then soft toward the aggressors. This principle must be applied in reverse.

Obviously we cannot rely on this course of action alone, essential though it is. We must also be prepared to protect ourselves and to prevent any German rearmament. The main consideration, however, is to make the pacific nations strong rather than to try to keep Germany weak. Close the door firmly against German aggression, but open a channel for German energies which may benefit themselves and the world.

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Germany without Illusions[1]

THE KEY to the German settlement is the question of what will happen to the German industrial machine. How big will it be? Under what and how many political allegiances will it be organized? In whose hands will its economic control lie? For what purposes will it be run? To whom will its profits go, and from whom will the investments in it come? How easily will it be convertible from a peace machine to a war machine? What will be the power relations between the economic and the political rulers?

I don't say this is the whole of the German problem. But I do say that if you apply these questions to the various plans for Germany, you will have a crucial touchstone. The riddle of what we shall do with Germany cannot be solved by the criterion of whether the solution will hurt and embitter the present German population. Every war settlement has to hurt someone, and the Germans have hurt too many people to be absolved from the chance of being hurt themselves. What we must rather keep in mind is the American interest in having a Germany shorn of her aggressive power (which, in modern warfare, is mainly a heavy-industry power), in a Europe that will not be raked again by the cross-fire of power politics that can destroy the United Nations structure and light a new world war.

But to define the touchstone for the German problem is very different from finding the solution. The issue is like a tangle of underground caves: it is the deepest and most labyrinthine issue of our time.

Why should it not be? Here is a state whose bid for world power was made possible not only by its own military strength but by the disorganization and weakness of the world on which it preyed. The military strength of Germany is being crushed, but the world's disunity has been only partially and temporarily healed. It would, no doubt, be safer in the long run to approach the problem by curing the world's ills than by extinguishing Germany's power to make war—especially since there will be other warlike states in the future who will be ready to prey on the world's weakness. But this is a counsel of perfection, and in any event we must work on both levels at once.

The more immediate danger is that if the German issue is bungled, the world's wounds will again be ripped open. The struggle between the victors for the mastery of Germany, and the fear that the German industrial strength may some day be turned as a weapon by one set of victors against the other, are prospects that loom as even greater dangers to world peace than the prospect of a renascence of German war strength under German auspices. Together these prospects round out what I mean by the menace of the German problem even after the Nazi surrender. The German settlement, if it is not handled with an uncommon depth of realism and insight, may prove the unsettlement of the United Nations.

The stature of the current ideas about the German settlement does not measure up to the stature of the problem itself. There is, for example, the supposition that the old Prussian militarism will seek to rebuild German strength for a new war, and that the Junkers and the generals will use some future regime as they used the Nazis. But this is now paleolithic thinking. The Junkers are dodo-birds, and the generals were the first to crack when the going got rough. If fascism is revived in Germany a decade or two from now, it will be the Nazis who rebuild it on the foundations of German industrial strength, and its spirit will be not the musty spirit of the old Prussian militarism but the fanatical dynamism of the Nazis. The German generals and the Junkers may have thought they would use the Nazis, but it turns out now that they were used by them. And the same Nazi diplomacy which, before the war, was capable of eating Europe artichoke-fashion, a leaf at a time, will make the effort after the war of turning the victor peoples against each other.

The big trouble with Vansittartist thinking is its premise that the Germans have been the same from the Teutons to the Nazis, and from Hermann the Cheruscan to Adolf Hitler. What we must reckon with is not the continuity of the German character (about which there is valid dispute), but the ruthlessness and craftiness of the Nazi will, about which there can be no dispute.

Then there is the capitalist mind—neither Vansittartist nor anti-Vansittartist—but quite simply a mind that has not yet learned how close its world came to destruction. The men in the City of London and in Wall Street, in the Foreign Office and the State Department, in the offices of the big press and the chain radio and the mass magazines, know now that the price of peace is vigilance, but they are not certain whether the enemy will be Germany or Russia. They are like the Roman senators who wrung their hands when news came of the massing of barbarian tribes, only in this case they have not decided whether the barbarians are beyond the Rhine or beyond the Dnieper. They are torn between the memory of prewar German aggression and the fear of postwar Russian power.

When they turn for guidance to the big-business

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minds, the answer is a mixture of relief at being rid of German competition in the world's markets, along with fear that the destruction of German cartels will knock the keystone out of the arch of the world cartel structure, a realistic concern for the regional power groupings that are emerging in the world, but a complete bafflement as to how Germany can be filled with them. When they turn to the Vatican—if W. C. Bullitt's crude outburst in Life is to be given credence—the answer is a new Anti-Comintern Pact under the guise of a Christian Western crusade against the totalitarianism of the East. Nowhere is the emptiness of capitalist social policy better revealed than in its confusion about what to do with the enemy after victory.

The liberal mind, in this context, seems a lovely and serene maiden held in a trance by the sorcery of her own unbelievable stainlessness. Writers like H. N. Brailsford in England and Dorothy Thompson in America share with many other traditional liberals certain inarticulate major premises.

I name some of them: that the Germans have been the victims of the world environment rather than the architects of its disaster; that they are not adults with moral responsibility but wayward and misunderstood children, and that—like children—they behave worst when they are unfed and embittered; that our duty in Germany is therefore to raise living standards, integrate the economy, create democracy and wipe out bitterness; that German democracy is an unfortunately banked fire which will burst again into a healthy glow as soon as the fascist ashes are cleaned out and men are once more brothers; that the problem is less to prevent a renascence of German strength than to unify Europe and restore a healthy, functioning European economy; that we must look to our own souls and consciences rather than to the German menace; and that anyone who does not think so is Carthaginian, and is yielding to the seductions of Vansittartism to betray the liberal tradition.

This obsessive viewpoint makes it difficult to think straight on specific proposals for Germany. When, for example, news of the Morgenthau plan for decreasing the industry potential of Germany first appeared in the press, the liberals were as violent in attacking it as the reactionaries—who had indeed reason to fear it. It was, they said, a Carthaginian peace; it was not far above the proposal for biological sterilization of the Germans; it outdid Hitler in cruelty and terrorism to vanquished peoples; how could there be any health in the world so long as there was a mangled and truncated German economy?

But this was emotion rather than appraisal. No one thought that the Morgenthau plan was ideal. But it should have been seen in the context of the interdepartmental fight in Washington over the question of what to do with Germany. It should have been seen against the background of the plans of the War and State Departments for making the first concern of our military government the rehabilitation of German industry, for disarming the Germans but letting them continue the industries that could one day serve as the means for rearming, for decentralizing them politically but leaving their economic centralization and their cartel structure, for dissolving the military caste but leaving the economic caste, for exacting reparations with the logical consequence of having to develop German industry so that the reparations could be paid.

If you look at these two plans side by side, you begin to see the German problem without illusions. You get a new perspective on the Morgenthau plan. You begin to see the meaning of the resignation of William Phillips as diplomatic aide to General Eisenhower, and the appointment of Robert Murphy to take charge of the political problems of the German occupation. You stop fighting ghosts of your own making while ignoring the real dangers to a democratic postwar Europe.

Let no American, liberal or otherwise, delude himself into thinking that the real danger is that of a Carthaginian peace. The tropism of reactionaries in America and Europe alike is toward fascism. Those who almost had the strength to prevent the unified collective resistance of the world to the Nazis, will be working mightily in the slacker period after victory to forestall the thoroughgoing uprooting of fascist power in Europe. The real danger is not that of a vindictive settlement but of an indecisive settlement—one that leaves in control in Germany the very same forces of industrial power and racist bigotry that handed Germany over to Hitler in the first instance. The danger is not that Germany *will* be mangled, but that fascism in Germany *will not* be mangled.

The problems of the period of occupation will be difficult, but in themselves not insuperable. As I write this, Churchill and Eden are in Moscow discussing (among other questions) the German problem with Stalin and Molotov. For occupation purposes Germany will be divided into a Russian zone (eastern Germany and Silesia—the largest territorially), a British zone (the Rhineland, the Ruhr, the Saar—the richest industrially), and an American zone (southern Germany—Baden, Württemberg, Hesse and Bavaria). Part of the Russian-occupied zone may be given to Poland; part of the British to France. But territorial partition is unimportant in Allied thinking, and is not the crux of Allied difficulties.

What the British and Americans fear is that economic breakdown in Germany may lead, after the initial period of occupation, to social despair and therefore to German communism. What the Russians fear is that the power of the German army will not be completely dispersed, and even more that the control of industry

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will not be taken from the hands of the Nazi industrialists; and that German power may some day become the pawn of the international cartels backed up by Vatican policy. That is why the Russians have so far seemed to sabotage the plans for military occupation of Germany, why they have not yet announced a scheme for the military government of their own zone, why they demand that the plans for military government of the three zones be synchronized, why they have not shown much enthusiasm recently for the meetings of the European Advisory Commission at London, why they demand the complete elimination of Nazis from industrial life as well as from the army and the party bureaucracy, why they demand that the German army be treated as prisoners of war and that instead of reparations in money payments (which premise a restoration of German industry), Russia be assigned several million Nazis as skilled workers and technicians to rebuild the areas they have devastated.

This shows pretty clearly that there can be no disentangling of the short-run problems of occupation from the long-run problems of what will happen to German industry, the Nazi industrial class, the German army. It is idle to talk of occupying Germany first and then deciding Germany's fate: for every basic decision about the manner of occupation is a decision about Germany's ultimate fate, its power to arm another war, its potential use in the power politics of the world. We don't need to worry about Germany's power over the next five or ten years: the Germans will be weak, the sick Devil will behave like a saint. What we need to worry about is German power when the Devil is well, and the mischief which the wrong Allied decisions about that power can cause now and for our whole generation.

There are three choices worth discussing, so far as German industrial strength goes. We can curb it; we can weaken or mutilate it; and we can transform its control.

Those who favor curbing are thinking in terms of a police and inspection system. They would close down the direct arms industries, set maximum quotas for alloy steel and perhaps aluminum and synthetic-oil production, and try to get up a remote-control system for the distribution of electric power. This plan is best presented in the Moulton and Marlio study, "The Control of Germany and Japan," made by the reactionary Brookings Institution, which is generally recognized as expressing the big-industry point of view in the United States. What it shows is that the American reactionaries, whether in industry or in the War and State Departments, know that they must make a long bid for curbing German industry if they are to head off the demand for its transformation. They know that after five years our bitter memories will be forgotten, our vigilance will slacken, our policing and inspection system will slumber, and a reinvigorated German industrial class will be able to strike off the curbs imposed upon it.

It is here that you get at the significant aspect of the Morgenthau plan. It is not, as it has been depicted, a Catonian plan, motivated by sheer vindictiveness. Its purpose is to cripple Germany's war potential, and at the same time to reduce the Nazi industrial class to impotence. The real thing to be said against it is not that it is cruel, but that the world has gone too far for solutions that go against the grain of technological use, and that to cripple Germany's power for mischief in this way one would have to pay a heavy price in dislocating the economies and lowering the living standards of the countries surrounding Germany.

That brings us to the third choice. If curbing German industrial power is an ineffectual gesture, and crippling it is too costly a remedy, there remains the choice of transforming its controls.

This choice is generally seen in terms of democratic revolution and reëducation in Germany. Anyone who does not think wishfully knows that the democratic revolutionary potential in Germany is negligible. The leaders have been killed off, and those who might replace them have been brutalized by a decade of killing and demoralized by a decade of passive and cowardly bystanding. The Gestapo rule in other countries has aroused fierce resistance, but in Germany it has met acquiescence and despair. Only the foreign workers' units within Germany can be counted on for sabotage.

You will ask whether a decade of complete state control of industry has not wiped out the habituations of capitalist power and made people ready for some form of socialism. It may have—but not for a democratic solution. The German economy has been a command economy, run in monopoly form, ruled by a single-party system under a monopoly state. Strip away the Nazi state and the Nazi Party, and you have left the nakedness of monopoly economic power. One trembles to think of how helpless a new democratic German state would be, even given an effort to reconstruct the German trade unions, against the power of the German monopolies supported by the world cartel system.

The fact is, then, that the control of German industrial power will not be transformed from within. If it is transformed at all, it will have to be from without. Germany after the war will be either a state socialism, a state capitalism or a cartel capitalism. But whichever of the three it is, it will be because the weight of the great powers has been thrown in that direction. To speak of the possibility of internationalizing the Rhineland and Ruhr industry, while it is an excellent suggestion, does not resolve this question but pushes it a step further: what then would be the power structure within the international authority?

In short, the only solution for the German problem is for the Allied powers to agree on the kind of collectivism the German economy will become. If it is

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left to the cartels, the friction between the Russian and the Anglo-American ruling groups will break the peace wide open. The crux of any solution is that the German industrial class, deeply Nazi as it is, should be treated exactly as the military leaders and the Nazi Party leaders are treated. Once that is agreed on, the other solutions will become possible. Without it, every molehill will become a mountain.

Americans must choose. They cannot give to class what was meant for mankind. MAX LERNER

The Education of John Bricker

JOHN W. BRICKER has the perfect background for the kind of campaign he has been waging. He went to Hoover High School, attended McCormick College and took a post-graduate course at Goebbels University. At Hoover High School Bricker learned all the laissez-faire mottoes. Before he got his diploma he had to write "Balance the Budget" one hundred times on the blackboard. At McCormick College Bricker learned to recite, "This country should not meddle in the affairs of other nations," whenever other nations threatened the freedom of all liberty-loving people. At Goebbels University Bricker learned to go up and down a country shouting: "Every day in every way Decadent Democrats are becoming Communists."

Bricker's first success with his Goebbels line was in 1938, when he was elected Governor of Ohio. Bricker kept repeating to audiences in his state that his opponent was supported by the CIO and therefore by the Communists. Some Republican newspapers in Ohio liked this kind of talk, and some of the reactionary press elsewhere praised Bricker for it. There were critics of this kind of campaign, however. The Cleveland Press remarked on October 29, 1938: "Residents of this county who use their radios know that Mr. Bricker's charges are nonsense. He knows it himself. But Mr. Bricker . . . is apparently convinced that anything can be justified if it wins votes." In Massachusetts, The Springfield Republican protested on September 14, 1938: "It will not bring any assurance that he is of presidential size to all Republicans outside Ohio, when they learn that his chief stock in trade thus far has been to attack his opponent on the ground that because he was supported by the CIO in the primary, he is necessarily the candidate of the Communists."

After Bricker became Governor of Ohio he applied all the principles which had been drilled into him at Hoover High School. Bricker remembered that when his teacher, Herbert Hoover, had been faced with the problem of caring for twelve million unemployed people he had firmly insisted that such relief was not the business of the federal government but the business of the states and local communities. Early in his career as Governor, Bricker was faced with relief of Cleveland's unemployed. Mayor Burton of Cleveland appealed to Governor Bricker to call a special session of the legislature to replenish Cleveland's funds. Bricker refused and said that cities should solve their problems without state aid. Governor Bricker also short-changed the local communities of Ohio on their share of state taxes and thus built himself a surplus. Governor Dewey, too, got part of his New York State surplus that way. State Representative Lody Huml, of Ohio, wrote of Governor Bricker's fiscal technique: "But despite what he says about states' rights, or economy, or local self-government, there is only one 'life and death issue' for John W. Bricker, and that is: 'Who gets to spend the money, who sits on the throne?' Understand that, and you know all there is to know about John." Representative Huml in a protest to the Ohio legislature also wrote of the Bricker brand of economy: "The fact is, that while he accumulated a surplus, by diverting local government revenues to the state treasury to be exploited in publicity as a symbol of economy, every year of his administration has set a record high cost for the expenditures of state government in Ohio. During four years in office he has spent $281,874,493.75 more than was spent during the four years prior to his taking office."

When he was asked for his opinion on international affairs during the period of crisis that preceded the outbreak of war in Europe, Bricker remembered the lessons he had learned at McCormick College. "This country should not meddle in the affairs of other nations," he told reporters. Today, after those "other nations" had conquered their neighbors and attacked the United States, Bricker is all for "peace forces" and other vague forms of collaboration which another of his mentors, Senator Robert A. Taft, drilled into him. F. G. A. Cook, correspondent of The London Evening Standard, interviewed Governor Bricker and reported on June 7, 1943, that Bricker was against a postwar league of nations and an international armed force. Cook wrote: "Certainly he is cautious when world affairs come up for discussion, but he is frank about the reason . . . 'I just don't know enough'."

After the attack on Pearl Harbor Governor Bricker, remembering the Hoover philosophy, refused to call a special session of the Ohio legislature for the purpose of providing funds for civilian defense and protection of Ohio's important war factories. "I am not going to spend money in anticipation of emergencies that may never arise," Bricker said on April 2, 1943. Next day a $400,000 fire broke out in two defense plants in

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South Akron, and previously there had been fires and explosions in government arsenals, munition plants and defense factories in other places in Ohio. The Scripps-Howard papers, which had supported Bricker for Governor, warned him editorially: "If you want to preserve the dignity and prestige of state government, you ought to be making the state government actually and positively valuable to the people of Ohio in this emergency. . . . We think you should lead the state in making adequate provision for civilian defense—and with money, not just conversation."

It was after Bricker was nominated for Vice President and toured the country seeking votes for Dewey and himself that he applied all the principles he had learned at Hoover High School, McCormick College and Goebbels University. During his campaign Bricker has been the complete exponent of Hooverism in domestic affairs, of extreme nationalism in foreign affairs and of the Communist smear in political affairs. Bricker says that he would reduce taxes instantaneously, but he doesn't say whose taxes. He also says that he would get rid of rationing and price-fixing, but he doesn't say how he would protect those who can't afford inflation and black markets while there is still a shortage of goods. Among the agencies Bricker in his campaign speeches has branded as useless are the CCC, the NYA and the National Resources Planning Board. The CCC and the NYA rescued the youth of the nation from the effects of the Hoover depression. The NRPB attempted to save the whole nation from a recurrence of such a depression, the kind of depression we are sure to get if we ever follow Bricker back to normalcy. When faced with the great problem of full employment, Bricker coined a phrase. He said we must create a "climate of opportunity." This is the kind of motto he learned to recite at Hoover High School: "Rugged Individualism," "Free Enterprise."

The Goebbels line—calling your opponents "Communists" and "Reds"—has cropped up in almost every speech John W. Bricker has delivered in his vice-presidential campaign, and in many of his back-platform remarks. It was he who spread the false story that President Roosevelt directed the Democrats to "Clear everything with Sidney," and he has kept repeating it wherever he goes in search of votes, on the Hitler principle that if you tell a big lie and then repeat it often enough, people will believe it. In his treatment of Sidney Hillman and the CIO Political Action Committee, Bricker has made use of the worst forms of misrepresentation utilized so fanatically in Nazi meetings when Hitler and Goebbels were seeking power. Bricker has fomented prejudice against the foreign-born by his attacks on Hillman and has stirred up hatred for labor by his attacks on the legitimate activities of the PAC in this campaign.

Bricker has used the Goebbels technique in his attempts to make the American people believe that Sidney Hillman is the exponent of un-American, "alien" ideas, and that the CIO Political Action Committee is an un-American institution trying to buy the election. Bricker does not bother to prove that the PAC is trying to buy the election. He merely states it. As a matter of fact, the PAC spent from July, 1943, when it was founded, until August 15, 1944, much less in the whole nation than was spent by the Republicans to reëlect Bricker Governor of Ohio in 1940. The CIO-PAC spent $371,086.56 during this period; the Republican State Central and Executive Committees spent $726,093 to reëlect Bricker.

The economic beliefs which Bricker learned from Hoover, the foreign-policy ideas which he accepted from Colonel McCormick and his crew, and the campaign tactics reminiscent of Goebbels, fitted Bricker for the role assigned him by the Dewey High Command. Bricker had used the Communist-smear technique in Ohio and won the election. The Dewey High Command obviously assigned to Bricker the job of satisfying the reactionaries within the Republican ranks who are frightened whenever Dewey pays even lip-service to the New Deal reforms. The Dewey High Command also assigned to Bricker the job of appealing to those who have prejudices against the foreign-born and who have been impressed by the Hitler appeals to race and religious prejudices. Bricker has also, by his cautious statements on our foreign policy, been able to appeal to the strong isolationist element which still dominates the Republican Party. His education has enabled him to carry out the tasks assigned to him by the Dewey High Command with facility.

If John W. Bricker is defeated for the vice-presidency, he may sit down in the Executive Mansion in Columbus and ponder the reasons. Perhaps he will realize then that his textbooks are out of date, and that the American people find disgraceful the type of campaign he has waged. Bricker may learn that the principles of economics promulgated by Hoover, the isolationist nationalism proclaimed by McCormick and the Communist bogey raised by Goebbels have all been thoroughly discredited in American minds. But it is undoubtedly too late for John W. Bricker to learn any other ways.

POTOMACUS

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The Press Gang-Up on the PAC

THE REACTIONARY ARM of the American press, spearheaded by the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson-Scripps-Howard-Gannett phalanx, the Nazi press, the Republican National Committee and its top spokesmen, all agree that one of the biggest issues of this election is the CIO-Political Action Committee. In vociferous concord, as always, is the native fascist subversive press. How closely they agree is illustrated by a few quotations taken from their day-to-day pronouncements. Without the proper tags on them, the reader may find it hard to tell whether a quote is to be attributed to the Nazi press, the American press or the Republican National Committee.

1. ". . . The Reds and un-Americans are voting for Mr. Roosevelt because they are taking the New Deal over. . . . Worst of all is the support Mr. Roosevelt is receiving from Hillman's Political Action Committee."

2. ". . . The CIO-PAC is under the complete domination of the Communists . . . fighting . . . for the re-election of Roosevelt and the dissemination of Communist ideas."

3. "The Hillman-Browder Communist conspiracy to take over the U. S. through the machinery of the alleged Democratic Party . . ."

4. ". . . Mr. Truman was cleared with Sidney." . . . "The New Deal combination of corrupt city bosses, Communists and fellow travelers . . ."

5. "Roosevelt . . . has been demoralized by . . . Communists."

6. "Sidney Hillman, the Russian-born, New York-bred leader of the CIO-Political Action Committee."

7. ". . . Victory of the PAC would constitute the greatest single political triumph ever achieved by the Communists."

Now for the proper tags:

1. This little gem is from pages 12 and 13 of the official Republican National Committee's Speakers' Manual, entitled "What to Talk About," issued from Hotel Roosevelt headquarters in September, 1944.

2. The Nazi newspaper, Pariser Zeitung, July 23.

3. Hearst's New York Mirror, September 29.

4. Thomas E. Dewey at Charleston, October 8; and at St. Louis, October 16.

5. The American traitor, Donald Day, speaking for the Nazis over the Berlin radio, October 6.

6. Louis Bromfield, writing for the Hearst papers at the Democratic National Convention in July.

7. John O'Donnell in The New York Daily News, September 23.

These are not extreme quotations carefully chosen to make a point. There are thousands, all monotonously similar in tone and content. Many are from that section of the press which is outside the big chain ownership, and which, biased, bitter, intolerant and unfair as it has always been, has up to now carefully maintained a high polish on its thin veneer of decency.

The hue and cry is raised not only in the editorials but in the news columns, and all the old, familiar changes are rung: "Jew," "foreigner," "un-American." The word "Jew" is not used, but insinuated forcefully and unmistakably. Thus, The New York Daily News, on August 11, and again on September 13, makes a big point of Hillman's "rabbinical education," and plays high the Communist smear. Rupert Hughes, Republican Party spokesman and 1940 biographer of Dewey, gets at it this way in a radio broadcast of September 13, by referring sneeringly to "Sidney Hillman, Russian-born immigrant." He gets across the Jewish angle by making a play on Hillman's name. Hearst ran the Hughes speech widely as an editorial on October 2.

The fact that the PAC is attacked isn't the main point. Of prime importance are why and how, the use of lies in editorials, the suppression and distortion of news about the PAC, and of PAC replies. All more evidence of how little of a "free press" we have in this country, how few "newspapers" which print the straight news.

It is quite clear that the Republicans and their eager journalistic assistants are out to defeat Hillman and the CIO-PAC, and thus Roosevelt. This is their issue, hand-wrought in a hurry, when they faced their fear of fighting a clean frontal attack on the Roosevelt record at home and abroad, and did not dare. When you realize this, the monotony of it makes a sinister kind of sense after all. Of course, the use of simple slogans constantly repeated is the best method of selling your bill of goods.

These syndicated "news" and editorial sentiments are piped every day to the 17 million purchasers—up to 70 million readers, if we are to credit the claims of their advertising managers—of the 60-odd newspapers owned by Hearst, Scripps-Howard, Gannett, McCormick and Patterson in the principal communities throughout the land. Not one shot a day at the PAC but several. On one memorable day recently, practically the entire editorial page of The New York World-Telegram, including the cartoon, was devoted to the PAC, not to mention news stories on page 1 and other pages.

Of course, men like Pegler, Henry J. Taylor, David Sentner, George Sokolsky, John O'Donnell, M. S. Rukeyser, George Dixon, George Rothwell Brown,

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Arthur Krock—and their bush-league imitators—are having quite a time for themselves. Mr. Krock's fame is further assured as the launcher of the "Clear Everything with Sidney" slogan in his column of July 25.

The Hearst boys are still going strong with their $50-a-day "Sidney Limerick" prize contest. They have displayed amazing ingenuity in cramming into the five standard lines of this ancient jingle-form, the "Jew-furriner-un-American-Commie" angle, and the "us-100-percent-Americans-must-stick-together" appeal. Here is one of the winners:

> Clear it with Sidney, you Yanks
> Then offer Joe Stalin your thanks
> You'll bow to Sid's rule
> No matter how cruel
> For that's a directive of Frank's.

In New York, Hearst's Mirror and Journal-American volley and thunder. The cannons peal simultaneously in The Albany Times-Union; in The Boston Record, The American and The Sunday Advertiser; in The Baltimore News Post and The Sunday American; in The Milwaukee Sentinel; in The Detroit Times; in The San Francisco Examiner and The Call-Bulletin; in The Oakland Post-Enquirer; in The Los Angeles Examiner and The Herald-Express; in The San Antonio Light and The Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

The Boston Globe and The Milwaukee Journal, fair and unbiased as always, work to maintain balance for readers, and follow news sense, as do some others, by assigning special writers to investigate the PAC for objective reports. In Los Angeles there is the independent Times, aiding and abetting the Hearst cause. But again in Los Angeles, by way of a sterilizing voice of common sense and enlightened sentiment, there is Manchester Boddy's Daily News.

Scripps-Howard sets the tone in The World-Telegram in New York, and round the chain it goes to Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Columbus, San Francisco, Washington, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Memphis, Birmingham, Houston, El Paso, Albuquerque, Covington, Kentucky, Denver, and Evansville, Indiana.

Mr. Gannett pontificates from Rochester, and the word is heard in Hartford, Albany, Utica, Elmira, Newburgh, Beacon, Plainfield, New Jersey, Ithaca, Olean, Ogdensburg, Malone, Danville, Illinois, Saratoga Springs and Massena.

Here, for example, is a little double-barreled lesson in journalistic lying by putting words into a man's mouth which he did not say, and in addition, throwing the accusation for which he demands proof, right back in his teeth, in the lead paragraph of the "news" story reporting his speech: "Atlantic City, Oct. 3.—Sidney Hillman today publicly defied anyone 'to prove' that President Roosevelt is 'backed by the Communists' and at the same time warned the combined membership of Communist-dominated unions they faced disaster unless Roosevelt is reëlected." This was carried in The New York Journal-American and the eighteen other Hearst papers to some eight million readers coast-to-coast.

First, note the editorial slant which repeats the accusation "Communist-dominated unions." Next, what did Hillman say? Read this lead of the report of The New York Times of the same speech: "Atlantic City, Oct. 3.—Sidney Hillman, chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, today challenged Representative Martin Dies of the House Committee for Investigation of Un-American Activities to bring him before the Committee to answer charges of Communist domination of PAC and alleged illegal financing of the organization."

Hearst's report suppressed all mention of the Hillman challenge to Dies; its four-inch story was devoted to elaborating on the lie in its opening sentence. The Times continued for nearly a full column to cover the meat of the Hillman speech, which had to do with a discussion of problems of the peace and of postwar employment, all of which Hearst suppressed.

Hillman's standing challenge to the Dies Committee —constantly reiterated—to call him in for questioning was completely suppressed by Hearst and the rest of the chain-store press, which, at the same time, were printing the day-by-day huffings and puffings of Chairman John M. Costello, California Democrat and lame-duck successor of Dies, as to what he was going to do to that Communist-ridden and un-American Hillman when he got him before the Committee. This same press did some huffing and puffing in its own editorials, just to help the cause along.

The display continued right through to October 6, when Mr. Costello, who had attributed his defeat for reëlection to the CIO-PAC, announced that the committee was shutting up shop to prepare its report, and would not call Hillman and thus "provide him with a forum." They also blithely neglected to call most of the 200 members of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, mainly nationally known and highly respected liberals, to give them a chance to defend themselves against "Communist" charges recklessly written into that record by one of their principal investigators, a self-confessed "reformed" Communist.

The Pews, the Queeneys, the Sloans, the duPonts, the Rockefellers poured half a million dollars into the Republican war chest in 1940, more money than the CIO-PAC has on hand. They are throwing the purse-strings away in 1944, since the Republicans have set out to exceed the $17 million spent in the attempt to defeat Roosevelt in 1940. No matter, we won't print that! Let PM, and The New York Post, and The Philadelphia Record, and The St. Louis Star-Times and The Post-Dispatch, and The Louisville Courier-Journal, and those few others which think that sort of thing is news, print it. Let The Berkshire Eagle in

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A POST-WAR PROGRAM FOR JEWS

The following letter to Secretary of State Cordell Hull was made public October 19, by Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

The Council, a nation-wide organization of Americans of Jewish faith, has as its program the acquisition of a status of equality for Jews all over the world.

The Honorable Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I respectfully submit the following in behalf of the American Council for Judaism, Inc., of which I have the honor to be President:

We are deeply impressed by the fact that our Government is demonstrating its concern with basic human problems, the solution of which will be essential to the maintenance of peace and the attainment of security upon which the hopes of the world are based. We are heartened by the conferences on relief, education and international cooperation. We are especially grateful that our Government is actively engaged in alleviating the plight of persecuted and under-privileged people everywhere; recognizing that when persecution and injustice are permitted to endure, they leave the world scarred with hatred, miseries, wars and devastation.

As American citizens of the Jewish faith, we present herewith our views on one aspect of these problems—the situation confronting our co-religionists abroad.

The official history of the Nazi accession to power in Germany began with a long series of odious acts of discrimination, persecution and violence against Jews. These acts mounted in ferocity until they attained the indescribable horrors of extermination camps. I shall not here recapitulate the full chronicle of this infamy. The tragic facts are fully known to you.

A sober regard for a world free from fear and from the persecutions which breed hatred and war, have, no doubt, persuaded you that the fullest consideration must be given for the restitution, restoration and future security of all the victims. You have, yourself, proclaimed the high standard that we must have a world in which Jews like all men are free to abide in peace and in honor. In an effort to realize that goal, we submit the following as the cardinal consideration:

Jews living in all parts of the world as members of a religious faith are entitled, as of right and not on sufferance, to full equality all over the world.

We, therefore, ask this—and only this—four our fellow Jews: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow-nationals. This means equality in the countries in which Jews live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration. We urge this as the cardinal concept by which post-war plans affecting Jews must be measured. We trust that the Uniited States of America, in accordance with its traditions, and in its own enlightened self-interest, will exert its fullest influence for the universal acceptance of this concept of full equality of rights and obligations.

Jews were singled out as the first victims of Axis aggression and have, therefore, suffered longer than others. Precisely because this is true, their future, if it is to be more hopeful than their past, must not be built upon policies that continue to segregate them for any treatment departing from the principle of full equality.

Fundamentally, the solution to the problems of Jews, a religious and not a national group, rests on recognition of the inalienable rights of the individual. Once that concept of human freedom is unqualifiedly accepted, Jews will require no special measure.

Accordingly, we look confidently to our Government to aid in the restoration to, or if need be, acquisition by, Jews of equality of religious, civic and political rights inherent in full citizenship. Restitution shall be provided with equality for all citizens, based upon the degree of injury suffered.

We also look to our Government for assurances that in all programs for resettlement, repatriation, reconstruction and migration, it will steadfastly call for adherence to the principle of equality of all nationals regardless of race or creed.

Millions of all faiths have been uprooted by this war and may need or desire to find new homes. In their be-

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half we urge the maximum simplification of migration policies and procedures; economic aid to migrants; and the extension of generous support to all potential centers for larger post-war immigration in those territories holding forth promises of development in the near future.

We urge our Government to use its good offices to guarantee that in those potential centers of immigration not now having the status of a sovereign nation:

1. Immigration shall not be limited by racial or religious qualifications but shall be determined by the expanding economic capacity and political stability of these territories.

2. The institutions of self-government shall be speedily established as soon as populations demonstrate a capacity for self-government—and by no other standard.

One such territory is Palestine. The adoption of these principles would mean abolition of the British White Paper of 1939 and its unjust discrimination against Jews.

We urge the adoption of the following principles in a clear declaration of policy on Palestine that would take the place of all previous documents and commitments which have been variously interpreted, and which have led to confusion among our co-religionists and others. Such a policy should, we urge, stress the special character of Palestine as part of the religious heritage of Judaism, Christianity and Islam and make adequate provision for the maintenance of the holy places under international control. It should aid immigration consistent with the fullest possible economic development and political well-being of the country without special limitations or privileges. It should lead to the earliest possible acquisition of self-government, in which all fulfilling the requirements of citizenship shall be free to participate.

We oppose the establishment of Palestine or any locality as a Jewish State or Commonwealth. We regard as fundamentally undemocratic the procedures involved in such an establishment, such as a preferred status in immigration to those of one religious faith and an arbitrary and indefinite postponement of self-government.

Such proposals will, we believe, embroil Jews now in Palestine in continuing civil strife and place in jeopardy the equality of status of Jews everywhere who are integrated in their respective homelands and do not wish to be party to a Jewish State or Commonwealth. Our emphasis, therefore, is on the attainment of the status for Jews of full equality for citizenship—its rights and its responsibilities.

We are, of course, aware that stipulations of equality are not, in and of themselves, adequate to prevent serious discrimination and the engendering of fear and insecurity. We therefore urge their implementation by the establishment of appropriate international machinery, to which those deprived of such rights may turn and obtain redress.

Finally, we commend for the earnest consideration of our Government the adoption of a policy to implement the principles set forth above; a policy whereby the United States of America, when it is contemplating the extension of assistance to a country, will consider, as one of the major factors, that the country under consideration accepts the concept of equality of all its nationals without regard to race or creed. Such a condition to the extension of American aid, either alone or in concert with others of the United Nations, would be an effective, practical demonstration of our determination to foster the principles of democracy in the post-war world.

The foregoing is submitted to you, Mr. Secretary, in the earnest belief that every effort toward the elimination of persecution and discrimination is a contribution to world peace and is, therefore, in harmony with our fundamental national interest.

I should be very happy to put myself and this organization at your disposal for any services that we may be able to render.

Very respectfully yours,

LESSING J. ROSENWALD

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Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which broke its 85-year-old record of rigid Republicanism by coming out for Roosevelt the other day, print it.

Drew Pearson writes the story of the background of these big-money backers of Dewey, laid against the record of their war against labor, with tear-gas, guns and goons. It's killed outright. Even The Washington Post killed it. They edit other columns and columnists, including Winchell, to cut out "objectionable" stuff. Again only the liberal dailies see this as the top news it really is.

Louis Waldman attacks the PAC and Hillman in The Saturday Evening Post, which gives the article editorial endorsement as "must" reading for "every American." Hillman writes a reply. The SEP refuses to print it. It is then offered to the newspapers, since many of them had picked up the Waldman article, and added to the fire with editorials. Not interested—that is, except those same few in New York, Philadelphia, Louisville, St. Louis and a handful of other places.

"Revolts" in CIO unions against Hillman-PAC's "dictatorship" make headlines, followed by appropriate editorials. Never mind that these are "plants," always shown up as such later, when union officers and members invariably furnish proof that these alleged "revolts" involved only a handful of "inspired" men, in some cases a single individual, who claimed to speak for the full union membership. Kill the follow-up story which exposes these "revolts"; or if you run a line or two on them, don't let it prevent your running periodic editorials subsequently citing these same "revolts" anyway in support of your claims that the PAC is falling apart.

Henry Hoke has exposed seven Senators and Representatives for permitting the abuse of their frank for the free mailing of several million postcards smearing the CIO-PAC as Communist. Hoke disclosed that the same technique was employed as was used by the subversives exposed in his book "Black Mail." It was a beat for PM, since nobody else carried it. One highly respected New York newspaper tossed the story into the wastebasket as a "blurb" for "Black Mail."

But days later, this paper, and some others, printed the story as released by the Anderson Committee. Hoke's name and the subversive angle had been forgotten, and the incident loomed now only as a campaign expenditure. The chain-store press, however, again ignored it. Too favorable to the PAC.

So, too, the chain-store press suppressed the indictment for contempt of Dr. Edward R. Rumely, executive secretary of Frank E. Gannett's Committee on Constitutional Government, following Rumely's downright refusal to disclose the sources of the committee's funds to the Anderson Committee—*in sharp contrast*, by the way, to the action of the PAC, which voluntarily threw open all its books to the authorities. Gannett, after all, is a fellow chain publisher.

Joseph P. Kamp of the Constitutional Educational League got little or no mention in the chain press when he, too, was indicted by the Anderson Committee. Kamp, another "Under Cover" study, provided the chief sourcebook for the Communist smear of the CIO, entitled "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America." Published in 1938, this little book won the high praise of World Service, the Nazi propaganda agency, and two million copies were circulated. Kamp obligingly reissued it this year under a new title, "Vote CIO and Get a Soviet America," with appropriate election-year addenda.

Of course, there again the reactionary press could hardly be a party, at this particular time anyway, to the showing up of Kamp, the man from whose writings they obtained most of their "smear PAC" material.

What of the Associated Press, "the by-line of dependability"? Neither it, the United Press (Roy Howard) nor the International News Service is free from the dissemination of false and biased reports, and suppressions.

One AP slip-up involved the visit of the Anderson Committee to the PAC office on September 12. That morning, the AP released a Washington date-line story stating that Chairman Anderson "told a reporter [AP] that the group was unable to obtain a satisfactory picture" of contributions from PAC officials, and for that reason were journeying to New York to see for themselves. On arrival Mr. Anderson specifically contradicted this story at a press conference, stating that the committee had obtained the fullest coöperation from the PAC and had made the visit on invitation of PAC officials. Did the AP quote him as saying that the AP was wrong? No, even though an AP reporter was present at the conference. Their story made no retraction of their error.

But more than that, they ignored what to any newspaperman was the best story to come out of the conference. This was when Mr. Anderson described the kind of coöperation he had been getting from the PAC, which, he said, "operates in a fish-bowl." To illustrate his point, Anderson said that he had been offered all the copies of receipts for dollar contributions which had been made by union members, a proposal made to Washington two days before by Assistant PAC Chairman C. B. Baldwin and John Abt, legal counsel. Anderson said that the committee refused the offer because they couldn't handle such a study, and that Baldwin and Abt had then suggested that they travel to New York with their investigators, look over records, and decide what reports they wanted from the PAC and in what form they wanted them. Hence the visit.

Again, on August 31, the AP blazoned a story from Woonsocket, Rhode Island, of a big CIO-PAC revolt. Proved that same day to be erroneous and a "plant"—the few men involved were from an independent union

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not identified with either the CIO or the AFL—it was nevertheless nearly 48 hours before they released a full retraction to the papers. The affair may have been cleared up for the AP office files, but what about the public?

These and other instances were brought to the attention of Kent Cooper, AP's executive director, and after some argument and an examination of the AP files, AP officials finally admitted that the complaints were justified. They apologized and agreed to a suggestion that they instruct their men to adhere a little more closely to what is generally accepted in the code of ethics, on paper if not in actual practice, as standard reporting procedure. This is to check back with the parties concerned, meaning, in this instance, checking back with the PAC before printing any more "revolt" stories, which would prevent the AP itself from being taken in. So what happened? The boys "checked back" all right, but only after they had released their first report on the wire. There you are again!

Thus the AP put both feet into the same old bear-trap only the other day, and the PAC was again smeared to the 1,300 newspapers which receive the AP service, with another "revolt" story, this time out of Schenectady, later proved to be false as first printed. In this case the correction written from the facts the PAC gathered for the AP was released within a few hours, but was printed, of course, only in those newspapers which felt like doing so. Nothing mandatory about printing an AP report! You can take the ones you like, and leave out those you don't.

Nor, so far as is known, did the UP or INS ever release a story given to a press conference in Washington, October 2, by Chairman Anderson of the House Campaign Expenditures Committee, exonerating the PAC from charges of coercing a union member in Indiana for a $1 donation. This story disproved the first and only specific charge of this nature that has ever been made. Rather important as news, since the press had been carrying a flood of stories by all sorts of people making blanket charges of coercion. The AP, however, did release this story.

Time and Life, the Henry Luce slick-paper twins, though issued weekly, actually must be classed with the daily press because of their stress on news. They are a study in antics, all by themselves. As such, they should be considered separately at some other time.

Editors keep up with events and therefore must be aware that responsible Roman Catholics in this country have entirely absolved Hillman and the CIO-PAC of communism. After weighing these charges, the judgment of America, the Jesuit weekly, and of The Commonweal is typical. "False," says one; "unadulterated drivel," says the other.

Of course it is quite useless, too, to point out that the CIO-PAC has been investigated once by the Senate, once by the House, twice by the Department of Justice, and that none of these accusations has ever stuck. In addition, the United States Attorney General has given both the CIO-PAC and the NCPAC a clean bill of health, but on this score the newspapers have written editorials taking issue with the Attorney General.

What of the working press, the men and women who go out on the street, gather the news and bring it back to their papers? In general, they are not directly to blame, except for those few Hessians who enjoy atrocities. Of course there are reporters on the Hearst, McCormick, Patterson, Scripps-Howard and Gannett pay rolls who blush, shrug their shoulders and inquire, "What can you do when you are under orders?" Working newspapermen know that for years the press has been destroying its credibility, the craft's only stock in trade. Newsmen themselves are beginning to repeat the old saw, "You can't believe anything you read in the papers."

The publishers get together whenever possible to wine, dine and worry about "freedom of the press," by which they mean freedom from government interference in doing what they damn well please. They work up a terrific heat about being blocked off from news beats by our government in Washington and abroad, by the Chinese government, by the Russian government, by the Argentines, the English, the Malays, the Tibetans, the Eskimos. They work hard to lobby through Congress high-sounding resolutions to write "world freedom of the press" into the peace treaty. All highly laudable efforts, but meanwhile, they turn up their noses at news beats here at home that anybody can have for the asking. They don't like to dig up corruption in government in their own cities, for instance, agreeing as they do with their Chambers of Commerce, on which they sit as directors, that it is bad for business, that it is far better to keep the citizens in the dark. Unless perchance they do a little municipal or state muckraking to blast the opposition party out of power and get their own candidates in.

The gentlemen of the "free" chain-store press are "free" only because you can say about anything you please during a political campaign and get away with it. The harvest they are reaping at home readily appears from this excerpt from a letter printed recently in a "Letters to the Editor" column of a daily newspaper: ". . . the octopus-like phantom of the PAC-New Deal gang. Let those of us who are Christians turn to prayer in the fervent hope that it is not too late. . . . My letter is a Christian's protest against the awful collection of persons the New Deal owes patronage to. . . ." The harvest abroad may be garnered at the peace table.

I read somewhere that Jefferson once said: "It is the function of a newspaper to print the news and raise hell."

Well, anyway, they're raising hell.

FRED MAGUIRE

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Latin American Balance Sheet

III. *Coöperation Below the Rio Grande*

Contrary to the notion that still lingers in some minds, our coöperative program in Latin America is not and has never been primarily a glad-hand campaign in a vague field called cultural relations. Strides have been made toward creating a machinery through which Latin Americans can get to know more about us and we can learn something about them—and this is cultural relations. But the fact remains that by the time we got around to having any kind of coöperative program at all, a great crisis had hit us. Both the United States and the Latin American governments had to work together feverishly to find ways to save all our necks from immediate disaster.

This coöperative program was hurriedly devised and it has imperfections, some of them glaring. Americans who labor under a vast ignorance of what the program comprises and who cherish the idea they could formulate a better one themselves have not spared their criticism. If it were true, to begin with, that the program was designed to please all Latin Americans, to make them happy and to protect them from all the effects of war, then much of the criticism would have foundation. But since the program is designed to meet specific dangers that threaten Latin American interests and our own, rather than to cure all ills, most of the adverse comment seems to be motivated either by selfishness or politics.

By far the greater part of our aim has been to meet immediate practical emergencies—and these emergencies have been meet. Part of our purpose is of course to build an enduring bulwark on the south, but this cannot be accomplished in three or four years or even in ten. Final results can be assessed a generation from now. It suffices to say that during the war emergency most of the Latin American countries have given us an amazing degree of coöperation in things that were vital to us. Compared with the situation during the First World War, when we had no coöperative program in Latin America but were forced to fight half a dozen little military campaigns in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean islands, the program has been a tremendous success. This is the only yardstick by which it is realistic to judge comparative results.

One criticism which may be leveled justly is that we should have begun our program ten years before we did. Our neglect has put us at a disadvantage. Our coöperative activities in Latin America were abruptly enlarged as result of the Rio de Janeiro Conference. The American republics there agreed to help defend the hemisphere from military, political and economic assaults, each according to its ability. Under the supervision of our State Department, the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs—shortened to CIAA, the Inter-Departmental Committee for Coöperation with the American Republics and the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department were all given bigger jobs to do. As the special agency for Latin America, the CIAA had the most money to spend. It was made the chief instrument through which agreements at Rio were put into action.

For years the Germans had been building in Latin America a distributing machinery for their news and propaganda. After Pearl Harbor, this was to a great extent cut off. Latin America was in fact severed from most of its usual news channels, which had come from the continent. They were also cut off from their sources of supply of books in France and Germany. After Pearl Harbor, the CIAA got to work expanding a news service to Latin America. Publication of texts and scientific books for this region was pushed. Mat and feature services were set up to give the Latin Americans a saner idea of United States culture than that spread through Hollywood films.

The burden of the German propaganda for years had been the weakness of the democracies, and after Pearl Harbor it seemed only too true. The CIAA founded and still publishes for Latin America a picture magazine devoted solely to our war effort. Posters, pamphlets and motion pictures have been used to counteract the German propaganda line. Radio has been extremely valuable in reaching many Latin Americans who do not read.

An important factor in the battle against Axis propaganda was the increase in the "exchange of persons" program. The State Department and the CIAA have brought to this country many Latin American journalists, lecturers, scholars and others who are influential in forming public opinion, to let them see for themselves what the United States war effort adds up to. Russia, Germany and other countries had done this for years before the war, before we ever dreamed of such a thing. But the United States has carried the formula one step further. We have also brought up civilian pilots, factory workers, business men, technicians in agriculture, medicine, engineering and industry. Here we are not only showing them what we are doing, but teaching them our methods. These skills will help Latin America meet the effects of war and aid their postwar development. At present there are more than 2,000 Latin Americans here under these programs.

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Before Pearl Harbor, the CIAA had begun to work on a plan through which the American republics could tackle human problems through coöperation. At that time the United States was spending millions to fortify bases throughout Latin America. Yet it was obvious folly to build big bases and help train and equip armies when neglected and discontented civilian populations were ripe fields for fifth-column activity. The way civilian populations aided the enemy in the Southwest Pacific emphasized the point. On September 15, the day Singapore fell, a Basic Economy Department was set up within the CIAA to work with Latin American governments on health, sanitation and nutrition problems. At that time, we did not know how soon our own troops might have to fight in the New World's unhealthy tropics. Twenty-five million dollars from the emergency war fund was allocated for this work. Congress later appropriated $10 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, but not all of this money was spent.

After we got the raw-materials drive under way, a hemisphere-wide health and sanitation program served to combat Nazi propaganda about our sweating Latin Americans in unhealthy jungles to get our war supplies. It also served to expedite this drive by protecting the health of Latin America's scarce manpower. We now have health and sanitation agreements with every New World nation except Cuba and Argentina. The coöperating countries have set up special national health departments, headed by United States technicians who have nationals as associates and understudies. The larger countries have put up cash and all of them have contributed personnel, labor, supplies, real estate and equipment. Projects include malaria control around key cities, improving water-supply systems for towns and cities, building sewage systems, building and staffing small hospitals, establishing controls for leprosy, plague and environmental diseases and providing medical care for migrant laborers who are producing strategic materials. An important part of this program is the training of Latin American doctors, sanitary engineers, hospital administrators and nurses who will carry on after the United States technicians have been withdrawn. The ratio of our representatives to theirs is one to twenty-five. United States financial support is being scaled down each year and the entire financial burden will be shifted to Latin American shoulders by 1945.

This program has already meant the saving of thousands of lives in Latin America and the rehabilitation of thousands of sick bodies. Endemic disease is one of the greatest obstacles to population growth and to economic progress there. We had to start this development program as a part of our political commitments at Rio, yet as a by-product we are serving our own interests shrewdly in another respect. Almost every city that we are helping clean up is on the great air route of tomorrow. For the protection of our own people, it is necessary for disease to be stamped out along this route.

In the spring of 1942 the Basic Economy Department of the CIAA was enlarged to meet another severe economic strain that developed as a result of war. This was a food shortage. Though nearly all Latin American countries have made valiant efforts to become self-sufficient in foodstuffs since the great depression, many of them were still dependent on imports for part of their food supply when war was declared. The disruption of shipping caused crises in northern Brazil, parts of Central America and the Caribbean. Large United States bases in Central America, the Caribbean islands and down the coasts of South America created local supply problems. Shifts in population to areas where strategic materials production is under way created still others.

To meet this, coöperative food-growing programs were undertaken by the CIAA, acting with the Departments of Agriculture of many Latin American countries. In northern Brazil, seeds and tools for growing beans, rice, mandioca, corn, fruit and green vegetables on more than a million acres were provided. In Costa Rica a large vegetable-growing program has been organized to relieve a pressing need for food in the Panama Canal area.

This program has brought relief to distressed areas in Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Honduras and the Caribbean islands as well as to Brazil and Panama. After endemic disease, malnutrition is the great health problem in Latin America. Every food program is teaching Latin Americans to grow new crops and expand their agricultural production permanently. Serious handicaps to agricultural progress, insect pests and storage problems, are being attacked. Since UNRRA has gone to work on the postwar food problem, Latin American countries are figuring how they can expand to meet postwar demands. The coöperative effort to increase food production during war will carry over as an aid in reconstruction programs.

The first of three big local emergency jobs that the CIAA has had to carry through is the rehabilitation of the Mexican railways. Mexico's debt-ridden, dilapidated railroads had been a national white elephant for years before the war. Called on to carry many times their normal load when we began drawing out huge amounts of Mexican minerals for our war manufacturing, the whole system was on the verge of collapse. The CIAA formed a technical mission to go down and supervise rehabilitation. One of its big jobs was to make repairs with the best means at hand—since railroad equipment is of course extremely scarce in Mexico. Similar advisory missions have been sent to Bolivia and Ecuador.

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Ecuador, on the losing end of a war with Peru, in 1942 found herself faced with a reconstruction job too big for her resources. The war had been settled through inter-American pressure at the Rio conference, but the war area was still in ruins. Political unrest was growing against a government that had accepted the Rio settlement and given the United States the right to build two extremely important naval bases on Ecuadorian territory—at Salinas and the Galapagos Islands. To fulfill pledges made at Rio—and incidentally to protect our own bases on the rear—a CIAA mission was sent to rehabilitate the devastated province in southern Ecuador. The mission had to begin at the bottom and supervise the rebuilding of towns, roads, the people's health and local economic activities. Within two years, at a cost less than that of a PT boat, a whole region has been put back on its feet. It is now producing valuable strategic materials.

A third emergency developed in Honduras, where an entire region was left high and dry when the United States banana boats were shifted to war duties. In 1942, a serious unemployment problem threatened the country's political stability. The Honduran government undertook to take care of one-third of the unemployed till the banana plantations could shift to manila hemp and reabsorb them. The fruit companies agreed to take care of a third, and the United States Government the rest. The CIAA decided that building a much needed road to connect the banana coast with the inland Honduran tableland would be the most constructive way to meet the emergency. The Honduran government contributed personnel and materials in part payment of costs. The road has been successfully completed and the crisis bridged. A long-term improvement has been made for Honduras, which is a lucrative field for United States investment as well as a source of important food supply for us and a faithful purchaser of our goods.

As the prospect of peace brightens, coöperative machinery is being prepared to meet its problems. A pattern plan has been the Mexican-American Committee for Economic Development. This committee is working out a future development of Mexico that will dovetail with our own and with other economic plans. This will prevent postwar economic chaos and will cushion the shock of the war's end for both this country and Mexico.

The idea that our coöperative program in Latin America is carried on exclusively by slicked-up people who stand around being elegant at cocktail parties or by earnest but befuddled Americans stumblingly trying to force Donald Duck on South American Indians is good ammunition for people trying to beat down the American impulse toward international coöperation. But it is entirely false. The coöperative program being carried out by the CIAA, the Inter-Departmental Committee and the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department is one in which trained people, many of them the best in their line, go out and get their feet wet and their hands dirty in Latin American mountains, jungles and deserts.

These people have had to roll up their sleeves and plunge into a war against suspicion, misunderstanding, prejudice and fear. They have had to carry on a battle against adverse nature, against time, disease, hunger and ignorance. They have had to do these things, to carry out our word pledged at Rio and to save our necks. But as by-products the United States is laying the foundations of lasting friendship and cutting a pattern in international coöperation for the world to see.

Fantastic charges have put the cost of our coöperative program in Latin America high in the billions. The fact is that during the four years since the emergency began, the CIAA, the Inter-Departmental Committee for Coöperation with the American Republics and the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department have had between them a yearly average of $34,038,750. This sum has gone for politico-economic defense in 20 countries, in an area where our investments and our defense interests are enormous. This is about the cost of one heavy cruiser. If we had not made and lived up to pledges of coöperation and if the situation in the New World had gone to the bad during the Second World War as it did during the first, the additional naval forces necessary for use in the Western Hemisphere would have been far greater than four cruisers.

VIRGINIA PREWETT

This is the third in a series of four articles. – THE EDITORS

The Sun

Out of ancient tombs
Out of many a dark century
From beyond the torrent of mortal death
Arousing dormant mountains mighty
Like a flaming wheel whirling on sandy banks
The sun is rolling to me

To its naked rays
Life begins to breathe
Luxuriant boughs all upward dance
The rivers wildly sing, while onward they seethe

When it comes I hear
Hibernating worms turn underground
People talk loudly on the compound
Cities calling to it
With electric power and steel resound

Then my heart
By a blazing hand is torn
My decaying soul
On the riverside is cast
The resurrection of Man I faithfully extol

AI CH'ING

Written in 1937 and tranlated by Chen Shih-hsiang

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Washington Notes

Campaign Sidelights

WET STREETS, sodden leaves, chill winds, crowds in raincoats and umbrellas—that is what I shall remember from riding in Press Car No. 10 in the presidential cavalcade as Mr. Roosevelt drove through the boroughs of New York last week in an open touring car, with the top down, his hat constantly off to the cheering crowds. What an incredible ride! Almost 40 miles through the rain and drizzle and so cold that we six reporters sat huddled together in our closed Cadillac. But up ahead—so far in front that the drifting ticker tape was sodden by the time we reached it—the 62-year-old President, who is also the world's symbol of American democracy, rode in an open car, with the bone-chilling wind driving the rain into his clothes. Well—this was the answer to the whispering campaign about his health. Americans do not put their great men through an ordeal of fire, as the Indians did, but this was an ordeal of weather and endurance. It was a silly but very gallant spectacle.

The President thinks he will win the election and so do most of the Washington correspondents I talk to. But his problem is twofold: he must get the votes, but get them by speeches which do not so inflame his opponents as to defeat the bigger objective—the New League. As far as I am concerned, Mr. Roosevelt's speech on foreign affairs at the Waldorf-Astoria, which I watched him deliver, was magnificent; one of the great speeches of his career. What a contrast to the earlier Dewey speech, with its dangerous appeals to the Italian and Polish vote. It will be curious to note the effect of Walter Lippmann's powerful column attacking Dewey's foreign-affairs speech—one of the most devastating columns written in recent times. It is all the more significant since Lippmann sat the 1940 election out. It was time for hard hitting from a bold, independent source. The respectable, Roosevelt-hating journals that have been kidding themselves about Dewey, ignoring his context-twisting, his isolationist following, needed to be shocked out of their complacency. It isn't Communists, crackpots and radicals who oppose Dewey; it is earnest men of many beliefs, who fear that this war, like the first, will be fought in vain.

A fair commentator nevertheless must acknowledge that Governor Dewey did a statesmanlike thing in excluding Dumbarton Oaks from political assault. True, an attack probably would have cost him the election. But even more certainly it would have killed chances of Senate ratification of the new world-security organization. Maybe this will mark his place in history: A Republican political leader named Thomas E. Dewey, in the exigencies of an American presidential election, held a veto power over the great new world organization—and refrained from using it.

Yet having said this, certain facts remain. Do you recall Werner Schroeder, Chicago Tribune-backed isolationist, whom Willkie blocked from the GOP chairmanship? Under Dewey, Schroeder is Republican vice-chairman. And there is James S. Kemper, of the same stripe, who lauded the rabid America First Committee in 1941, won The Tribune's praise, and warned that full employment is only to be won under "slavery." Kemper is now chairman of the GOP finance committee, top post after only Brownell and Dewey himself. And finally there is the little incident at East St. Louis, Illinois, October 16. It was not reported in many of the respectable newspapers which hope to reconcile Dumbarton Oaks with Dewey. One of the most rabid isolationists running today for the Senate is Richard Lyons, protégé of The Tribune, against internationalist Scott Lucas. The definitive comment on Lyons was uttered by a Chicago correspondent, who thoughtfully declared, "Beside Lyons, 'Curly' Brooks looks like a statesman!" There may be a more complete demagogue running for the Senate, but it is difficult to think of him. And this was Governor Dewey's comment to the East St. Louis crowd: "I know you are going to send Dick Lyons to the United States Senate—for good government."

Cordell Hull, 73-year-old Secretary of State, is in the Naval Hospital as this is written. Any appraisal of Hull must take into account one fact—moral force. In some ways Hull has been an unsuccessful Secretary of State. Administrative confusion reigned in the department, at least until recently; American relations with Latin America have sharply deteriorated since he forced out Sumner Welles. But Mr. Hull has a value to the nation that transcends these things. From long congressional service, Hull has the confidence of a non-party coterie of Senators. The Senate must pass the new world treaty. Mr. Hull represents non-partisanship. If Dumbarton Oaks leaps the hurdle of the archaic constitutional two-thirds treaty-ratification rule, it will be due in large measure to the patience, tolerance and moral determination of Hull.

I have been meaning to say a word about the farm vote. It is one of the paradoxes of the election. Low income has been reducing the ratio of American farm population for generations until it is now down to one-fifth of the national total. But under Roosevelt, farm income is the highest in recent history. Despite which the farm vote, outside the South, will go overwhelmingly for Dewey, and carry a tier of farm states for the GOP. The common explanation for this singular circumstance is that the farmer is an individualist, as indeed he is: he hates government rules and controls with the zestful independence that made America great. Also he dislikes organized labor and detests strikes, and blames these on Roosevelt. But in addition to this, two other facts can't be ducked: the administration is losing farm votes simply because it put necessary war measures into effect; it clamped ceilings on inflationary wartime prices, and the degree of Roosevelt's consequent unpopularity in some farm and cattle sections is measured by their very effectiveness. The second fact in the over-all picture is the extraordinary economic vulnerability of the farmers. When the war ends and markets tend to drop off, nothing but federal control of some sort can support prices or prevent the return of the old, suicidal, cutthroat competition that glutted markets and mortgaged American farmsteads. The farmers are against Roosevelt because he put on controls, but the controls will save them when the war ends.

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Notes: At least one high American commander hasn't lost hope of winning the German war this year. . . . One hears criticism of Generalissimo Chiang in Washington military circles for distributing American war aid too widely: trying to keep too many poor divisions in the field instead of concentrating on fewer and more effective ones. . . . One of the great moments of the campaign was when Orson Welles caused the conservative Herald-Tribune Forum audience to boo at his declaration that no American soldier has had to go without implement or weapon because of strikes in America—and then disclosed he was quoting from General George Marshall! . . . Ho-hum; only one more week for Our Tom to twist a context.
Washington T. R. B.

Murdered Movie

"LAURA" is a movie exposé of society people that is more awed with them than critical. The ignoble facts it finds—promiscuity, deceit, cowardliness and small-mindedness—are treated with a disinterest that is almost boredom, while it views their wit, fastidiousness, snobbery, splendid clothes and environment with the kind of gaga-eyed reverence that you find in perfume ads. Laura, who is head of a famous advertising agency (acted by Gene Tierney with no other qualities than there are in a fashion mannequin on parade), who is admittedly bound to become the mistress of anybody in pants, who can lie and be as tricky as the next society type in this movie, is nevertheless considered for her gentility as an impossible achievement in glorious womanhood—a career-girl Mrs. Miniver.

The best part of the picture is its description of a Brahmin columnist, named Waldo Lydecker, played with great pleasure by Clifton Webb, whose snobbishness and fastidiousness are about the only facts studied in any detail; his perfumed literary style of talking expresses a lot of auntyish effeminacy and his values get across with some force. But there is the same kind of society-page awe in the way he is treated and a false glorification that is totally impressed with what are actually dime-store book wit and charm, and small-boy behavior. The film is a perfect example of Hollywood's propensity to glorify every kind of character, from the villain to people who merely stand in the background of Laura's cocktail parties and dinner engagements. It has to do, among other things, with a refusal to take any kind of fact about a person plain, but to make the fact more special, perfect and of equal importance with everything else in the picture. It is one reason for the absence of unpleasantness in our films; the pleasant fact, when idealized, is only made more pleasant, but idealizing unpleasant facts changes the entire character of the detail.

"Laura" is also a murder film, but its crime is treated romantically, like its people, only more so. Four days after the murder its supposedly murdered woman, Laura, shows up unmarked, and the New York police, the murderer and the plain-American-guy detective (who is acted with as much wood as he has ever been played by a talented actor, Dana Andrews) discover that some other woman's face was shot off by mistake. Meanwhile the detective has fallen in love with Laura from her picture, and this drives the murderer, who is a former lover and hates to see anybody else handle her, to try shooting off her face again. As a murder puzzle it leaves out most of the clues and hides the rest, which makes the mystery both baffling and boring.

"Laura" has a bareness that is as fabulous as the glass fruit that used to decorate dining-room tables. The heroine is described in a series of moments from her life—getting her hair fixed, having her breakfast in bed, leaning over to say something in a business conference—that are as unnoteworthy as the comments Lydecker makes on each shot (for the one in the business conference, "Laura had an eager mind always"). During the picture she falls in love with four men and out of love with three as unconvincingly as possible, which, compared to the account of the detective's falling in love with her, is rich and moving. The detective's love affair consists of some nervous pacing, interrupted by someone's coming in to say, "MacPherson, you're acting very strange lately. People are going to think you're in love."

Otto Preminger's directing energetically enters into every part of the film and makes it more obvious and more like tin. He underlines attitudes, like the hard-boiled detective's talking through a cigarette, that are already in italics. Characters constantly offer trim summations of themselves for the audience like the society lightweight's, "I don't know a great deal about anything, but I know a little about everything." The players' positions in the scene are often petrified into tableaux, and the few action episodes, like the final murder attempt, are so overtrained that they run off as precisely as ballet-steps. All of this cuts the movie into a minimum of easily recognized ideas and leaves the audience still fewer things to find or judge for itself. As a result it is hard to find anything good in "Laura," or simply anything. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

The ability of Governor Dewey to provide a change of pace in his campaign was shown again by his statement expressing his happiness at results of the Dumbarton Oaks conference, but pointing out that much remains to be done.—*From The New York World-Telegram.*

The poll tax is not a disfranchising provision. . . . One must be a registered voter before the failure to pay his poll tax disfranchises him and it disfranchises him then only if he fails to do what the law required him to do—pay his taxes.—*Governor Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, speaking to a Kiwanis Club meeting, as quoted in The Mobile Register.*

Absentee ballots of servicemen killed between the time they cast their ballots and the November election will not be counted in Massachusetts, Secretary of State Frederic W. Cook said today.—*AP dispatch from Boston.*

On the Home Front

There were about 7,000 Frank Sinatra fans in line when the Paramount Theatre opened its doors at 10:40 a.m. yesterday, forty minutes earlier than the scheduled time. Girls at the head of the line said they had been keeping their vigil since midnight and had refused an offer of $8 from a man who wanted

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to get his daughter a place toward the front. – *From The New York Herald Tribune.*

Mighty Nimrod

When Dewey spots a fly he opens a right-hand drawer of his desk, takes out a wire and rubber fly swatter and moves swiftly around the room for the kill. His aim is good but he swats lightly because he does not want to smear the walls, which are finished in a light tan homespun-type paper which he selected himself. He prefers to stun the fly so that it falls on the rug where he can finish it off neatly. – *Roger Butterfield in Life.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Deadly Parallel

SIR: I doubt if at any time in history there has been a more striking example of a parallel than the dramatic and deadly one between Clemenceau and Churchill.

At a period in World War I when France seemed doomed, Clemenceau became the head of the French government, succeeding a colorless and inept politician. Although well past his prime chronologically, "The Tiger" was fantastically vigorous, physically and mentally. At the theatrically precise psychological moment, he imbued the French people with his own characteristic bulldog courage and contagious optimism.

Throughout the rest of the war he was the great "realist." His one outstanding weakness was frequent and bungling interference with purely military affairs. But this was overshadowed by his many current virtues, and by the time of the Armistice he had become the symbol and legendary hero not only of the French but of the Allies collectively.

Then came Versailles. . . .

Can anyone doubt that Cemenceau, more than any one else, was responsible for the stupidest and most criminal peace treaty in modern times? Lloyd George and Orlando were accessories in hamstringing Wilson—but they were no more than that; Clemenceau was the arch-conspirator.

Clemenceau was the greatest *Frenchman* of his day. Suffering from political astigmatism and social sclerosis, he could not see an inch beyond the boundaries of his beloved country, nor think a minute ahead of 11 a. m., November 11, 1918. It was *la Belle France über Alles* for him. And it was the Versailles Treaty, sired by Clemenceau, that we can blame largely for World War II.

At a period in World War II when Great Britain seemed doomed, Churchill became the head of the British government, succeeding a colorless and inept politician. Although well past his prime chronologically, "Winnie" was fantastically vigorous, physically and mentally. At the theatrically precise psychological moment, he imbued the British people with his own characteristic bulldog courage and contagious optimism.

Throughout the rest of the war, he has been the great "realist." His outstanding weakness has been frequent and bungling interference with purely military affairs. (Although he has increasingly shown an ignorance of the political, economic and social issues involved.) But this so far has been overshadowed by his many current virtues, and by the end of the war he may well have become the symbol and legendary hero not only of Great Britain but of the United Nations collectively.

Then will come the peace conference. . . .

Can anyone doubt that Churchill (if he is powerful enough and follows his present bent) would be responsible, more than anyone else, for the stupidest and most criminal peace treaty in modern times—worse even than Versailles?

Churchill is the greatest *Englishman* of his day. Suffering from political astigmatism and social sclerosis, he cannot see an inch beyond the Victorian British Empire, nor think a minute ahead of the actual surrender of Germany. With him, it is "Britannia Rules the Waves"—and the land, and the air. And will the next peace treaty, if sired by Churchill, quickly bring us World War III?

Pikesville, Md. HAROLD D. JACOBS

Mrs. Luce and Mr. Hillman

SIR: Mrs. Clare Luce, in an election speech on October 19, said that the CIO-PAC is out to get her and added, "If my head rolls in the basket at the election, surely it's a more American head than Mr. Hillman's." The spectacle of Mrs. Luce's pretty "American" head rolling in the basket on election day is an affecting one. But let me say to her, as one American head (dating from away back before the Revolution) to another, that Sidney Hillman's head, in spite of what she says about it, is pretty American too.

What is Mrs. Luce driving at by these insinuations anyway? Is she saying that it is "American" to be Anglo-Saxon, but not Russian, American to be Gentile, not Jewish, American to be rich, not poor? Shame on you, Mrs. Luce, to drag that fine word "American" down in the gutter with you! Shame so to dishonor it as to tag as "un-American" the poor immigrant from a foreign land who comes here thinking this is the land of freedom! How can such despicably snobbish bigotry be possible, right now above all, when our boys are fighting and dying to end forever that very thing? Perhaps the voters had better end Mrs. Luce too.

JUDGE DOROTHY KENYON
Member, Executive Committee,
National Citizens' Political Action Committee
New York City

Recollections of Coolidge

SIR: I am writing on Calvin Coolidge, 1872-1933, and will be glad to hear from any New Republic readers who might have recollections or impressions of the statesman.

Webster Groves, Mo. CYRIL CLEMENS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

An AAF lieutenant overseas has sent us a sample of the Republican campaign literature being mailed to soldier voters by Illinois voting officials with application cards for the Illinois state ballot. This biased procedure, our correspondent says, certainly violates "any practices or principles of objectivity or fair play" supposedly favored in the distribution of ballots by the individual states.

Harold R. Gordon, of the Health and Accident Underwriters' Conference, Chicago, differs with a statement in the article, "Doctors Against Public Health" [The New Republic, August 28], to the effect that commercial insurance companies have sold about four million health policies at premiums "in excess of those proposed in the Wagner bill." Mr. Gordon says the insurance companies have sold not less than 40 million policies, and that by the end of 1944 there will be an estimated 50 million policies in force. Mr. Gordon says further that private-insurance-company premiums are not more than those proposed by the Wagner bill, but rather are less.

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Books in Review

Reading Between the Lines

THERE HAS BEEN increasing effort, between the last war and this, to make the writer a scapegoat for the inadequacies of the society he depicts. The enemies of literature, most of them second-rate writers, have nailed a reverberating series of theses to important doors: the treason of the clerks, the decadence of the coteries, the irresponsibility of the artist, the personal responsibility of Proust for the fall of France, the literary fallacy and to hell with it. But war itself, the most devastating confession of inadequacy that society can make, is likewise an impartial critique. In France, once more the laboratory of the world's ideas, countercharges have been weighed and values tested. The choice between collaboration and resistance, clear as it may now seem to us, was the acid test. The defection of an esthetic playboy like Cocteau, or an all-out nihilist like Céline, was regrettable but not surprising. *Rien ne manquait que ça.* As for the reactionary pundits and academic intriguers, like Charles Maurras and Bernard Fay, they were merely performing their historic roles. Contrary to critical predictions, the treachery came from the traditionalist right, and the forces of cultural bolshevism joined the underground. A forgotten symbolist, Saint-Pol-Roux, became a martyr; a quondam dadaist, Aragon, is becoming the national poet. Malraux in action, Valéry in contemplation, reassuringly continue to be themselves.

And, though it may be a while before the record is completely straightened out, this oblique little volume [1] contains what may prove to be the straightest part of it, the *feuilletons* contributed to Le Figaro by André Gide during 1941 and 1942. Living and writing in the so-called Free Zone, he was limited to literary subjects—hardly a limitation for so percipient a reader and so resourceful a writer. One plays, he reminds his public, with the cards in one's hand. "There is nothing like the love of sound workmanship to restore a man's confidence." French criticism, while providing a rich context for the discussion of technical problems, has never set up a Maginot Line between literature and life, and Gide has never been taken in by the factitious dilemma between estheticism and propaganda. "Unless there is resistance, the mind has no base from which to rise," he comments, ostensibly on the rules for the cesura. Again, having just remarked that English independence cannot brook the subordinate relationship implied by the subjunctive, he cites the eclipsed Hugo: *"Qui donc attendons-nous s'ils ne reviendront pas?"* Versification and even grammar are converted to weapons in Gide's expert hands. He is not defending poetry; he is bringing poetry, after the guns have been silenced, to the defense of his country. His aptest citation is from Goethe: "Poetry is liberation."

His longest and profoundest essay, written as an introduction to Goethe's plays, reconsiders their two-edged object-lesson. Projecting individualism to the peak of its development, the highest that man can attain by his unaided endeavors, Goethe remains—for Gide—serene yet unheroic, unaware of the most obscure and tragic phases of human experience, reluctant to renounce anything, and perhaps overeager to be reconciled to the Napoleonic invasion of his country. As a model of renunciation Gide renders homage to his master Mallarmé, a saint if not a hero, whose disinterested devotion to art could not be bought. As an example of what can be bought, there is Jacques Chardonne, the first serious French writer to proclaim the amenities of the German occupation, whose "Chronique Privée de l'An 1940" will long survive in a footnote to Gide's review. Casuistry has always been Gide's particular target, and Chardonne's whole case rests on the obliteration of moral distinctions. His vague writing and loose thinking, as Gide incisively demonstrates, are a betrayal of the French spirit of definition, as well as "an indisposition of the intelligence." Reconciliation, as Renan wrote to Strauss in 1871, is attended with certain dangers to morality and intelligence—to the things Gide values most.

The principal device of the present book, a journalistic form of the Socratic dialogue, is highly congenial to Gide's fondness for juxtaposing extremes. A possible weakness, the tendency of such arguments to degenerate into set-ups, is here a source of strength; for it enables the interviewer to be the official stooge and to pay lip-service to Vichy, while the author responds with a succession of polite ironies, thoughtful queries, expressive shrugs and chilling silences. The skillful manipulation of the *double entendre*, and the carefully maintained disparity between tone and intention, have created many difficulties for the translator. Malcolm Cowley has managed to surmount them, with occasional resort to paraphrase, and with an explanatory apparatus which is usually helpful—though students of French prosody may take exception to his appendix. The colloquial energy of his translation should win the wider audience that it deserves. For those who prefer the succinctness of Gide's original statements, and a more appropriate format than the gaudy Knopf edition, the French text was published by Jacques Schiffrin in New York a year ago. One advantage of Mr. Cowley's redaction is that it includes several additional passages, notably a final interview on contemporary American fiction. It takes more than Bernard DeVoto's inferiority complex to explain our postwar novelists, and Gide plausibly interprets their work as an attempt to draw us out of our "soulless contentment."

It is characteristic of Gide, in his open-minded gusto and unflagging curiosity, his perennial concern for "the current and untimely," that his seventy-fifth year should find him reading Faulkner and Steinbeck, not to mention Dashiell Hammett. The only conclusion he has reached is the conclusion to "The Counterfeiters," where the novelist, having taken his leave of Bernard, looks forward to meeting the younger brother Caloub. The postscript

[1] **Imaginary Interviews, by André Gide. Translated by Malcolm Cowley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 172 pages. $2.**

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to "Imaginary Interviews" is a first-hand impression of the liberation of North Africa, scene of an earlier crisis in Gide's biography. What brings him the greatest pleasure, obviously, is not food nor drink nor long-awaited cigarettes, but the chance to discuss the latest books with a group of young Allied officers. Since the days when he sat at the feet of Mallarmé, it is Gide who has been the conscience of the younger generation. His journals comprise an extensive and intensive chronicle of the European mind over the past fifty-five years. They convey a sense of cultural continuity which the interviews reaffirm, linking their revaluations of the classics with an acute concern for the future. The prospects for poetry and fiction are heartening, as Gide assays them, balancing the rival claims of tradition and innovation, the popular and the esoteric. "Future values of France," he prayed—and printed—in the darkest days of the collapse, "your hour will come."

His career and the Third Republic, though coeval, have been somewhat tangential. Yet Gide in Tunis is not so far from Hugo on Guernsey or Voltaire at Ferney as we might have suspected. The international domain of letters (*pace* Mr. Murphy) is still a republic, and this veteran coterie-writer, this unreconstructed intellectual, this impenitent liberal is today its leading citizen. He has indeed lived up to his maxim: "The shock of events merely strengthens our own predispositions." His predisposition has been freedom, first from the spiritual compulsions of his Calvinist background, then from the material necessities of bourgeois civilization, and sooner or later as an end in itself. If the moral experiments of his individualistic heroes do not achieve that end, if he never found it in his own explorations from Africa to Russia, neither did he find that religious dogmas or political systems are a substitute for free inquiry, for the *libre examen*. If a writer must be exemplary, like Goethe, there is no ersatz for what Gide exemplifies—intelligence dealing candidly and courageously with the issues of its time. In a time of intellectual inflation, when lesser writers sell out or go soft or succumb to slogans or indulge in conversions, his survival can help us to distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit. The literary market is flooded with imitations, but there is nothing like the real thing.

HARRY LEVIN

French Impressionists

French Impressionists and Their Contemporaries. Preface by Edward Alden Jewell. Photo Research and Biographies by Aimée Crane. New York: The Hyperion Press. Random House, Distributors. 192 pages. $5.95.

MR. EDWARD ALDEN JEWELL, of The New York Times, has contributed the preface to a book of the French Impressionistic painters that suggests at once a series of happy presentations—a book in sum that will serve as a gift. Along with the well disguised significance and profundity of the Preface, the whole of it makes for delightful entertainment.

Miss Crane has written biographical notes for each of the painters represented, something like twenty-three of them, from Corot, Manet, Cezanne to Degas, Seurat, Renoir and so on. The accounts are bright, informative in a truly needed sense, never monotonous in tone and constantly varied in the undertaking. People who have tried to write this sort of thing will be certain to appreciate what that means.

The illustrations, fifty-two of them in color and a hundred in black and white, are not a thundering success, especially those in color, but are adequate. Taken as a whole, they are a treasury, excellently chosen to represent a long period and one aspect of modern painting, which, obviously of course, has stemmed overwhelmingly from France.

To the introductory preface Mr. Jewell brings his distinguished tone and subtle perceptions. He has too much knowledge to be the kind of art critic who is taken up with making things fit, or not fit and so be damned, into some movement or school or ism, a stubborn and easy way of judgment that belongs to, in Bacon's phrase, people of "no fruit." He is, furthermore, too perceptive to nourish his writing on clichés. He knows that, as he says, all movements embrace discrepancies and apparent contradictions quite as readily as they embody affirmations and practices that are harmoniously explicable, within the category established, and that make for smooth sailing on the commentator's part. It is only human that it should be so. It follows, then, that, to quote Elie Faure, "in general the future attends to the reconciliation of the contraries, which are only faces of the same reality."

Most of all Mr. Jewell, exhibited thus as a critic and historian of painting, has a poetic and lucid insight by which he never fails to perceive that the final value of a work of art is an inner thing, not a matter of schools or classifications, and is to be tested always by the consecration and the poet's dream.

STARK YOUNG

An illuminating book on the union of *Might* and *Right*.

THE

SECOND CHANCE:

AMERICA AND THE PEACE

A Symposium edited by JOHN B. WHITTON

An historian, three political scientists, an economist, an authority on the measurement of public opinion, and a religious philosopher have worked together (not always in agreement) on this challenging effort to establish the basic principles for a world peace.

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More on Argentina

Argentine Riddle, by Felix J. Weil. New York: The John Day Company. 297 pages. $3.50.

ARGENTINA, writes Mr. Weil in the preface to this excellent book, "is now at the crossroads, with a battle royal raging between the new industrialization and the old vested interests." The remainder of his study is an amplification and elucidation of this basic theme. His approach is that of a social scientist, with economic analysis as a primary tool, but implemented by historical, political and psychological considerations. The military dictatorship that came to power after the revolt of June 4, 1943, does not appear, therefore, as something altogether new in terms of Argentina's social structure, but as an intensification of a trend which has been discernible as far back as the Uriburu "revolution" of 1930.

Some months ago, in The New Republic of July 24, I commented unfavorably on Ray Josephs' "Argentine Diary," which was widely publicized as giving the "inside story of the coming of fascism" in Argentina and which has since enjoyed a rather good sale. Josephs, it seemed to me, had failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the *raison d'être* of what has been called "Argentine fascism." The wealth of recent material on Argentina which he had collected as a working newspaperman did not clarify the country's complicated social situation. It would be unfortunate if Josephs' book had satisfied the market demand for information about Argentina. For "Argentine Riddle" answers, to my satisfaction at least, all of the questions that I had raised in my review of Josephs.

Unlike Josephs, Weil does not hypostatize political slogans into political theory, nor does he indulge in bursts of righteous indignation. While his explanation of the Argentine dictatorship shows perspective, he does not apologize for it. The meaning of that dictatorship has given rise to a most ill informed, confused and as yet unfinished debate on American foreign policy, epitomized by the Hull-Welles controversy on what policy this country should follow toward Argentina. Legalists (*i. e.*, the State Department) simply excoriate Argentina for not living up to her inter-American commitments. Anti-fascists (*i. e.*, liberals, including Ray Josephs) only too often conceive of Argentina's acceptance of fascism as a sinister Nazi-inspired plot to conquer the continent. Historians, wise and mellow, shrug their shoulders and describe the new regime as just another version of traditional Latin American *caudillismo*. There are elements of truth in all of these interpretations, but they do not touch the core of the problem.

Argentina has always been ruled by a small oligarchy of wealthy landowners, who, in connivance with British and other foreign finance capital, wielded an amazing influence, both economically and politically. Paying lip-service to constitutionalism, they oppose democracy. As long as there were no strong middle and working classes, they felt secure. But when industrialization took an upward swing after 1930, they became increasingly fearful and gradually abandoned all constitutional pretenses. Realizing that their opposition to industrialization could only be artificial and ephemeral, they made their peace with the industrial interests which faced the threat of labor conflicts and were bent on preventing unionization. The military revolt of June, 1943, climaxed this development.

The question of Argentina's foreign policy is not, and never has been, the predominant issue of Argentine politics. Argentina has always been reluctant to coöperate with the United States, which is her competitor in the international grain and meat market. British diplomacy and capital have in the past furthered Argentine intransigence in this respect. The ruling class opposed the break with the Axis because it has nothing to gain by antagonizing the Axis. Its faith in German promises was neither better nor worse than that of Neville Chamberlain and other appeasers. And there is much evidence that the majority of the Argentine people favor the country's neutrality policy.

These are only the outlines of Mr. Weil's thoughtful and informative book. A wealth of data on Argentina's industrial, agrarian, political and trade problems, incontrovertible in my opinion, authenticates his general thesis. The lesson of his book for Americans is best told in his own words: "Bullying is not the way to win the Argentines' hearts and minds. On the contrary, the threat of sanctions, economic or political, is a sure way to consolidate the military government. The policy of non-recognition or non-intercourse, unless coupled with active help to the opposition, is a futile gesture, smacking of old Dollar Diplomacy tactics." These are provocative words for liberals. They should weigh them carefully.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Six Novels and a Chore

The Roots of the Tree, by Helen Todd. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 258 pages. $2.50.
Deep River, by Henrietta Buckmaster. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 481 pages. $3.
The Golden Bowl, by Feike Feikema. St. Paul: The Webb Book Publishing Company. 226 pages. $2.50.
World's Beginning, by Robert Ardrey. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 244 pages. $2.50.
Lie Down in Darkness, by H. R. Hays. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 216 pages. $2.50.
Earth and High Heaven, by Gwethalyn Graham. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 288 pages. $2.50.
Ship to Shore, by William McFee. New York: Random House. 408 pages. $2.75.

OF THESE SEVEN NOVELS, two just miss being superior; two others, though distinguished, are marred by an inner sickness and aimless fury; one saps its very real power by the author's tendency to blend "The Grapes of Wrath" and Thomas Wolfe; another negates its important and courageous analysis of anti-Semitism by using slick magazine coincidences to solve apparently insoluble problems; and the seventh, written by the only well known novelist in the group, is so inept, feeble and at times downright ridiculous that one can't help feeling an unknown would have had a very hard time finding a publisher for it.

Of these books, the most outstanding is Helen Todd's "The Roots of the Tree," in spite of the fact that the second half is sadly inferior to the first. But the early pages are so fine, so remarkably perceptive, that one is inclined to forgive what is poor and forced and insist that it is

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a book not to be missed. Miss Todd's portrait of Reinhard Eysen, eminent German scholar, is that of a man with no strong political convictions who comes to America after years of indecision and mental anguish, only after the intellectual atmosphere of the Third Reich has become intolerable. He is faced with the problem of finding something in the new land to which he can give his whole faith, something which he can love as he has loved the soil and the cities of Germany. He finds it in a great ancient tree in a Midwest college town, which becomes for him the promise of all that America can be: it is Jena transplanted. So long as he can be near this tree he can work again, as he could not work after the Nazis had poisoned the moral climate of his country.

Miss Todd, in distinguished and sensitive prose, makes clear the torment of a man's voluntary exile from his native land; Eysen's love of Germany is, in fact, intensified by the Nazis' spoliation of its culture. There is a wonderful passage where Eysen, in Switzerland on a summer vacation, climbs a mountain only three miles from his homeland, looks down on the beloved valleys and rivers and is so filled with nostalgia that he is on the verge of crossing the border. It is only after an intense spiritual struggle that he turns back, knowing that he would never be able to work in Hitler's Reich, that the spirit of Jena has been slain. He belongs to Germany, represents it, far more than the National Socialist Party does; he is closer to its people than Hitler can ever be. Back in the middle thirties when Thomas Mann, then living in Zurich, was being attacked by the anti-Hitlerites for not openly repudiating the Third Reich, Malcolm Cowley had the acuity to defend his attitude on the grounds that the great creative artist was naturally loath to lose contact with his own people, to have his books burned. Eysen's attitude is not unlike Mann's, and it is not impossible that Miss Todd had him in mind.

"Deep River" is written by a woman of considerable talent, whose most noteworthy book is a work of non-fiction, "Let My People Go," a history of the underground movement in the Civil War. This novel concerns the conflict in Georgia in 1859 between the slave holders and those who felt that the Negroes should be free. One cannot help feeling that Miss Buckmaster would have had a more convincing story if she had again written non-fiction. Simon Bliss, the leader of the anti-slavery movement, repeats his convictions so often that one becomes bored, in spite of one's sympathy with his point of view. Miss Buckmaster botches the essential meaning of the novel by making Bliss too incredibly admirable and self-sacrificing. His marriage to Savannah does not seem real, mainly because his protestations of love are countered by his curious neglect of their marriage relationship. It is a book that one admires, but it is strangely hard to read.

"The Golden Bowl," by Feike Feikema, carries a vital message. It is concerned with the dust storms of the thirties in South Dakota, but in spite of the book's natural force, the influence of Wolfe and Steinbeck —writers who could not be more dissimilar—spoils the sensitivity and true power of which he shows himself capable. However, Mr. Feikema indicates a very real promise.

"World's Beginning," by Robert Ardrey, is a book of imagination, marred by a curious kind of violence. It concerns the world twenty years after the war when America is on the verge of revolution. The social problem is solved finally by what Mr. Ardrey terms the Commonwealth plan, but he fails to get its meaning across. Even at the end, when the problem of America has been solved according to the author, the violence which marks the book appears again in the hero's violent physical assault on an elderly reactionary newspaper publisher (who is doubtless Hearst), an attack which may be motivated by the reporter's own personal frustration. It is a stimulating story, but it leaves the reader at loose ends.

"Lie Down in Darkness" is one of the strangest books to be published in some time. It purports to be a criticism of the present social order, but achieves only a curious morbidity that leaves one with the feeling that the author prefers sheer unhealth to honest criticism. The book succeeds in damning the small suburban town, but the characters for the most part are so exaggerated that the final impression is one of complete unreality.

"Earth and High Heaven" intelligently approaches the conflict between the Jewish community and the gentile. The scene is Montreal, where the French-Canadian element adds to the social conflict, and Miss Graham understands her locale so well that she creates a thoroughly convincing atmosphere. The love affair between a rich Canadian girl and a distinguished Jewish lawyer is real; the protest of the girl's father against the Jewish lawyer, however, is overdone to the point of absurdity. The book is too slick to hold conviction and the ending is spoiled by the use of easy coincidence.

In "Ship to Shore" Mr. McFee tries to draw the picture of a young Jewish stenographer on vacation on a luxury liner, but the girl is so incredible that it is hard to believe that the ship's captain would fall in love with her. The climax, based on the Morro Castle disaster, is equally inept. Anyone who is planning to read this novel should look up the court hearings on the Morro Castle fire properly to assay Mr. McFee's failure.

JOHN HYDE PRESTON

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Mr. Walker's Dewey

Dewey: An American of This Century, by Stanley Walker. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Company. 350 pages. $2.50.

STANLEY WALKER has a penchant for satire. Had he given free play to his natural talents this might have been quite a book. As it is, it's just a preëlection biography. Even so, most Republican wheelhorses will find it too literate (too many big words). It won't hurt Dewey, but it won't help him become President either. After all, Walker wrote "Mrs. Astor's Horse" and it didn't hurt her any. The anomalous thing about this book is why Walker was asked to write it. If I recall correctly, in "The Night Club Era," Walker showed a secret fondness for some of the very gang characters he is forced to depict as so evil in this volume. Nearly half the book is about Dewey as district attorney. Is this the office he now seeks?

From the very outset of this work Walker seems to have imposed a handicap upon himself. Actually this is not a biography: it's a rebuttal of all the things that Walker has heard his old newspaper cronies say about Mr. Dewey. By page two Walker is already engaged in a back-handed effort to prove that Dewey is not conceited.

Another difficulty, perhaps because it was written too quickly, is that the book suffers from a dearth of anecdotes —at least the kind Mr. Walker would care to print. This has led the author to inject his own interpretations of why Mr. Dewey has done this or that, which at times get a trifle ludicrous. In describing Dewey's efforts in behalf of a $5-million-fund drive for the Navy Relief Society, Walker makes this conjecture, "Here was something less spectacular than the USO campaign, requiring less energy, but the cause appealed to Dewey—partly, perhaps, because of his family relationship, distant though it was, with Admiral George Dewey."

There are 210 pages of this biography (the rest are collected speeches and photographs). Despite Walker's lively style, Dewey does not emerge as a big man, and certainly not as one who has understood the great historical developments of a decade of war and fascism. Perhaps it was this, a bond of oblivion, which united subject and author, for Walker is no student of social trends himself. The work might better have been titled, "Dewey: An American of the Last Century." ROBERT G. SPIVACK

A Reader's List

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE CRISIS, by Louis William Koenig (King's Crown, $2). Mr. Koenig's well written and amply documented book is a useful study of the presidential power. It specifically covers the period from the invasion of Poland to Pearl Harbor, and is concerned particularly with foreign relations, military affairs and the home front. Contemporary history has witnessed considerable expansion of the executive power. That development, Mr. Koenig suggests, may be justified by the greater need today for an immediate response to the demands of *Machtpolitik*. A leisurely diplomacy has no place in a totalitarian era. The author finds the constitutional sources of the presidential power to be indeterminate and often vague. This explains the frequent clashes with Congress. Yet that very indefiniteness reflects the need for a forceful personality in a time of crisis.

JOURNEY THROUGH CHAOS, by Agnes E. Meyer (Harcourt, Brace, $3). A chronicle of the wanderings of the wife of the publisher of The Washington Post through the boom-towns of the United States at war. Believing that "nothing is more important to the successful prosecution of the war than the solution of the many social problems in our congested war areas," Mrs. Meyer started on the tour which took her from the Capital, overcrowded by the influx of government workers, to the war plants and day nurseries of Detroit, Portland, Uniontown and Johnsville, among others. In this report she discusses what she found: problems of juvenile delinquency culminating in the zoot-suit riots, army camp-community relationships, labor-management coöperation or lack of it; and concludes that nothing but a moral awakening of the entire nation to its responsibility will produce a real solution to the problems of the home front.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS: HENRY CABOT LODGE, by Karl Schriftgiesser (Little, Brown, $3.) A biography of the late Massachusetts Senator which is of considerable importance and of some interest in a war election year, but one which is characterized chiefly by the pedestrian qualities of its conception and execution. The high points of Lodge's career; his part in the Spanish-American War, the annexation of Hawaii and the taking over of the Philippines, the defeat of the Versailles Treaty and the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations, are faithfully outlined, with emphasis on their present-day significance. In at least one sense Mr. Schriftgiesser does not exaggerate when he remarks that Lodge's true memorial is not the plaque of bronze erected to his memory in Massachusetts, but the war in which we are engaged.

Contributors

POTOMACUS is an office pseudonym.

FRED MAGUIRE, chief of press relations for the CIO-PAC, is a Dartmouth graduate and has been a newspaperman for the past 20 years. He was formerly editor and assistant publisher of The Lowell (Massachusetts) Sunday Telegram and his work in clearing up municipal corruption in Lowell won him the Sigma Delta Chi national award for courage in journalism in 1944. He was a Nieman fellow at Harvard last year.

VIRGINIA PREWETT is a news analyst, speaker and writer on Latin American affairs and the author, among other books, of "The Americas and Tomorrow."

AI CH'ING is one of the most successful revolutionary Chinese poets of today. His poems include a collection, "Tah Yen River," and "Toward the Sun."

SHIH-HSIANG CHEN, sometime lecturer in the Oriental Department of Columbia University, is the author, in collaboration with Chin-hsin Yao Chen, of "The Flow'r Drum and Other Chinese Songs," published by John Day. He is now editing and translating a collection of Chinese war poetry.

HARRY LEVIN, an associate professor of English at Harvard, has recently revised the translation and contributed an introduction to Flaubert's "Three Tales," published in July by New Directions.

JOHN HYDE PRESTON's most recent books are "Revolution: 1776" and "The Liberals." He is living in New Canaan, Connecticut, where he is working on a novel.

ROBERT G. SPIVAK is a political writer for The New York Post.

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